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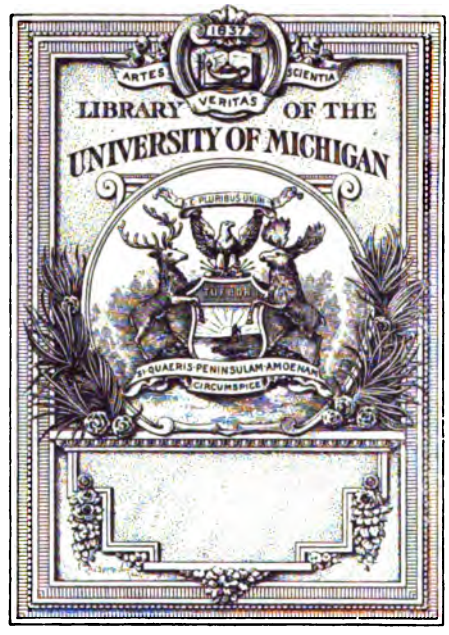
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

100521

VOLUME II. 1894

PROVIDENCE
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY BY THE STANDARD PRINTING CO.
1894

Editor,
AMOS PERRY.

Publication Committee:

JAMES G. VOSE, AMASA M. EATON,
WILFRED H. MUNRO, JOHN H. STINESS,
AMOS PERRY.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. II APRIL, 1894 NO. 1

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PROVIDENCE, R. I. - - - PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

[Entered at the Post-Office at Providence, R. I., Aug. 11, 1893, as second-class matter.]

Notice!

It has been decided to continue the "Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society" for the next year, to be issued quarterly, as before.

The continuance of the undertaking will depend upon the support given it.

You are, therefore, earnestly requested to subscribe one dollar for the year 1894, through the Treasurer, Richmond P. Everett, P. O. Box 1275, Providence, R. I.

All Providence subscribers are requested to add their post-office box to their address, thereby saving expense to the Society.

JAMES G. VOSE,
AMASA M. EATON,
WILFRED H. MUNRO,
Publication Committee.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1893-1894

PROVIDENCE
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY
1894

STANDARD
PRINTING
COMPANY
• PROVIDENCE, R. I.

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OFFICERS

OF THE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

ELECTED JAN. 9, 1894.

President.

HORATIO ROGERS.

Vice-Presidents.

GEORGE M. CARPENTER, E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS.

Secretary and Librarian.

AMOS PERRY.

Treasurer.

RICHMOND P. EVERETT.

STANDING COMMITTEES.

Nominating Committee.

ALBERT V. JENCKS, JAMES E. CRANSTON,
EDWARD I. NICKERSON.

Library Committee.

WILLIAM D. ELY, HOWARD W. PRESTON,
AMOS PERRY.

Lecture Committee.

AMOS PERRY, REUBEN A. GUILD,
WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

Publication Committee.

JAMES G. VOSE, AMASA M. EATON,
WILFRED H. MUNRO.

Committee on Grounds and Buildings.

ISAAC C. BATES, ISAAC H. SOUTHWICK, JR.,
EDWIN BARROWS.

Committee on Genealogical Researches.

HENRY E. TURNER, JOHN O. AUSTIN,
GEORGE T. HART.

Committee on Necrology.

WILFRED H. MUNRO, SAMUEL H. WEBB,
AMOS PERRY.

Finance Committee.

ROBERT H. I. GODDARD, CHARLES H. SMITH,
RICHMOND P. EVERETT.

Audit Committee.

LEWIS J. CHACE, JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN.

Procurators.

For Newport,	GEORGE C. MASON.
Woonsocket,	LATIMER W. BALLOU.
Pawtucket,	SAMUEL M. CONANT.
North Kingstown,	DAVID S. BAKER, JR.
Hopkinton,	GEORGE H. OLNEY.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

1893-94.

At a meeting held Jan. 24, 1893, Mr. James Burdick read a paper entitled, "Foot-prints of the California Argonauts."

February 7th, Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, LL. D., read a paper entitled, "Remarkable Providences in Crises of the Revolutionary War for American Independence."

February 21st, Hon. William P. Sheffield, LL. D., read a paper on "Samuel Gorton, one of the original settlers of Warwick."

March 7th, Mr. William B. Weeden read a paper entitled, "The World's Commerce in 1492."

March 21st, Hon. John H. Stiness read a paper entitled, "A Century of Lotteries in Rhode Island."

At each of the above-mentioned meetings the thanks of the Society were extended to the speaker of the evening.

The first quarterly meeting of the year was held April 4th. After reading the record of the last annual meeting, the secretary presented a letter from Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, expressing thanks to the Society for the honor of his election as a corresponding member. A letter was also read announcing the formation at Warren of a Massasoit Monument Association.

Reports from different committees were then read and received. The librarian reported additions to the library, and on recommendation of the nominating committee the following persons were elected active members: Messrs. John Byron Diman and Joseph C. W. Cole of Providence, and Mr. Henry Whitman Greene of Warwick.

Rev. E. B. Andrews, in behalf of the publication committee, read a report in regard to the advisability of the Society's issuing a quarterly publication. By recommendation of this report it was finally

Resolved, That the publication committee is hereby instructed to publish the quarterly proceedings of the Rhode Island Historical Society for the year 1893, at a total cost not to exceed $500 (five hundred dollars), the first number of which shall consist of the usual annual transactions, the other three numbers to consist of such matter as they may select; a prospectus in the first number to set forth the purpose of the Society in undertaking this publication, and soliciting subscriptions at one dollar per annum, or fifty cents per number. A copy of No. 1 shall be delivered to each member of the Society, and 300 copies of each number issued during the year shall be set aside for exchange with, or as gifts to, other societies or public institutions.

On motion of Dr. Andrews, Prof. W. H. Munro was elected assistant editor.

Ex.-Gov. Taft, in behalf of the committee on grounds and buildings, submitted plans and an estimate of the

cost for renovating the old part of the Cabinet, together with certain other needed changes. After much discussion this committee was authorized to make the proposed improvements and draw on the treasury to the amount of $1000 (one thousand dollars). A committee consisting of Messrs. Charles H. Smith, James Burdick and the secretary, was also appointed to raise the funds necessary for this object.

At a meeting held April 18th, Rev. Dr. Woodbury read a paper entitled: "Journalism and Journalists," receiving the thanks of the Society for his scholarly essay.

The second quarterly meeting of the Society was held July 3d. Reports were read from the secretary and the librarian. Mention was made of gifts to the Society, notably an admirable portrait of the late Edward R. Young, presented by the sons of Mr. Young, and the "History of the Centennial of the Inauguration of Washington," presented by Mr. Bowen.

In response to a call for unfinished business, Prof. Wilfred H. Munro brought forward a proposed change of Sections 12, 16 and 20 of the by-laws of the Society, notice of which change was duly given at the annual meeting, Jan. 10, 1893.

The Sections as revised read as follows:

SEC. 12. The officers shall be chosen at the annual meeting in each year, and shall serve until the next annual meeting, and until others shall be chosen in their places; but in case the Society fails to elect at the annual meeting, it may do so at any other regular meeting, and it may fill any vacancy in any office at any regular meeting. When an officer receives a salary the amount of the salary shall be determined by the Society.

SEC. 16. The Librarian and Cabinet Keeper shall be a member of the Library Committee. He shall have immediate charge of the cabinet and its contents and shall safely keep, under the direction of the Library Committee, in the cabinet of the Society, all books, manuscripts, papers, documents and other articles committed to his charge.

SEC. 20. The Library Committee shall have the general charge of the books, manuscripts and other collections, and of the property of the Society within the cabinet building, and shall make all needful rules and regulations for the use of the library. They shall expend all moneys received from the State of Rhode Island, in accordance with the acts of the General Assembly applicable thereto. They shall aid and direct the Librarian in his duties and shall have power to appoint and employ proper persons to assist him, and especially for copying records, documents, manuscripts, or other similar work, and shall fix their compensation. They may expend for the library itself from the general funds of the Society, without further authority, a sum not exceeding three hundred dollars in each year.

On recommendation of the nominating committee, Mr. Wm. S. Granger of Providence was elected an active member of the Society, and Rev. Alfred Manchester of Salem a corresponding member.

A report from the library committee in reference to the heating apparatus was read and referred to the committee on grounds and buildings.

The thanks of the Society were presented by vote to Messrs. George T. and Nicholas B. Young, and to Clarence W. Bowen, Ph. D., for the gifts previously mentioned.

The librarian made a brief report in regard to the original papers of Maj.-Gen. Nathaniel Greene, and on his motion it was

Voted, That a committee be appointed to memorialize the General Assembly for the purchase of these papers.

On motion of Mr. Richmond P. Everett, the following preamble and resolution were unanimously adopted by a standing vote.

Whereas, This Society has lost by the death of Mr. Henry T. Beckwith a member of long standing, who had held the office of secretary ten years, had been a member of some standing committee about forty years, and had during this long period sedulously promoted, in various ways, the best interests of the Society; therefore

Resolved, That this minute be entered upon the records of the Society, and that a copy of the same be communicated to Mr. Beckwith's sister, Miss Abby G. Beckwith.

The third quarterly meeting of the Society was held October 3d.

The secretary read a letter from Rev. Alfred Manchester, thanking the Society for the honor of his election as a corresponding member.

The librarian reported additions to the library, special mention being made of the portrait of the late Charles Dyer, 3d, and of the Journal of Moses Richardson from 1807 to 1813. This latter was copied by vice-president Carpenter and by him presented to the Society. Mention was also made of a valuable gift of four well-bound volumes of the *Dial* from Mrs. Emily A. Hall, for which she received the thanks of the Society.

Mr. Alfred Stone made a brief report in behalf of the committee on grounds and buildings.

Messrs. Thomas Backus and Pardon Fenner Brown were elected active members.

The president announced the death of ex-vice-president Charles W. Parsons, M. D., and made brief mention of his valuable services to the Society. In reference to a clause in his will conditionally giving four thousand dollars to the Society, it was

Voted, That ex-Chief Justice Durfee, Judge George M. Carpenter, and Messrs. Charles H. Smith and Amasa M. Eaton be a committee to confer with the executors of Dr. Parson's will, and to act in behalf of the Society in securing the bequest named.

In response to an invitation from Hon. George Carmichael for the members of the Society to visit as his guests the historic sites in the town of Charlestown, the thanks of the Society were extended to Mr. Carmichael and his invitation was referred, with power to act, to the committee on field days and hospitalities.

October 31st, Mr. Alfred Stone gave a lecture illustrated by stereoptican views of the buildings and grounds of the Columbian Exposition, which was highly appreciated by an audience completely filling the lecture-room, and in part the galleries.

A meeting was held November 14th, at which Hon. Wm. T. Davis of Plymouth, author of "Landmarks of Plymouth," addressed the Society on "The Pilgrims and the Plymouth Colony, with some reference to the controversy concerning the boundary line between the Colony and Rhode Island."

November 28th, Mr. Alfred M. Williams read a paper entitled, "The Expedition of Xavier Mina to Mexico in 1817."

December 12th, the Rev. Dr. George H. Clark of

Hartford, read a paper entitled, "The Rev. John H. Wheelwright, the first heretic of the Boston pulpit." At each of these meetings the lecturer of the evening received the cordial thanks of the Society for his entertaining and scholarly paper.

The seventy-second annual meeting of the Society was held January 9, 1894, the president in the chair.

The secretary read the records of the last quarterly meeting and of four special meetings held thereafter.

The librarian read his annual report, after which the secretary laid before the Society several communications from individuals outside the State; notably, one addressed to the editors of the *Providence Journal*, from Mr. S. M. Hamilton of the Department of State, Washington, offering to furnish copies of letters of Dr. Waterhouse and lists of Revolutionary soldiers for a small consideration. This was referred to the library committee. Another communication was from Mr. William Wallace Tooker, entitled: "Roger Williams Vindicated, or an Answer to a Key-Hole for Roger Williams Key." After remarks by the president this was referred to the publication committee.

The following persons were elected active members: William Lincoln Bates, Oliver Sawyer Cressy, Frank Leslie Day, Oliver Dyer, Mrs. Mary H. B. von Gottschalck, David Francis Lingane, Samuel Mowry Nicholson, Stephen Nicholson, John Simmons Palmer, George Henry Pettis, Gardner Taber Swarts.

William Butler Duncan was elected life member.

The president read his annual address which was received and referred to the publication committee.

The treasurer presented his annual report of which the following is a summary:—

Receipts, ...	$4,675 85
Expenses, ...	4,656 06
Cash on hand, ...	19 79
Life Lembership Fund, . . .	2,093 76
Publication Fund, ...	3,330 50
Investment Fund, ...	23,000 00

The report of the committee on grounds and buildings was read by Mr. Charles H. Smith. This report stated that $1078 63 had been expended for renovating the old building above the basement, and $201 45 for other improvements.

Mr. William D. Ely then read the annual report of the library committee.

The report of the publication committee was presented by Rev. Dr. Andrews. In accordance with the recommendation of that report, the following resolution was adopted:—

Resolved, That the treasurer, when sending out the annual bills this year, add thereto a statement that for one dollar more the "Publications" for 1893 will be delivered to the subscriber, and enclosing therewith a copy of the appeal or statement issued by the publication committee.

And unless the members subscribe sufficiently to this project by April 1, to pay the deficiency, the publication committee is authorized and directed to discontinue the "Publications."

After much discussion, the secretary, treasurer and Mr. Asa Messer Gammell were appointed a committee to raise for the Society the necessary funds, $25 of which were promptly subscribed by the mover of the

resolution, Mr. C. H. Smith, to which he has since added $75.

Mr. John O. Austin read the annual report of the committee on genealogical researches, emphasizing the need of larger additions to the library in the genealogical department.

On motion of Mr. Richmond P. Everett it was

Voted, That the committee on publications be authorized to print 700 copies of the Proceedings for 1893-94, to include the president's address, the treasurer's report and other papers which the committee shall select, the whole not to exceed $150, the expense to be charged to the general fund.

On motion of Mr. Amasa M. Eaton, the following resolution was adopted: —

Resolved: Permission is hereby given to the Rhode Island Society of the Sons of the American Revolution to meet in the Cabinet of this Society on the 22d of February next, subject to such restrictions as the cabinet keeper may impose.

The resolution adopted at the last July quarterly meeting for the appointment of a committee to memorialize the General Assembly for the purchase of the General Nathaniel Greene papers having been called up, the president announced that the said committee would consist of the Hon. Henry E. Turner, M. D., of Newport; Hon. David S. Baker, Jr., of North Kingstown; and Prof. J. Franklin Jameson of Brown University.

A motion for the purchase of extra copies of Charles Francis Adams' work entitled, "Massachusetts, its

Historians and its History," was referred to the library committee.

The officers of the Society for the ensuing year were then elected. A list of them will be found on pages 5 and 6.

ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Gentlemen of the Historical Society:

After five years of agitation and tardy progress our cabinet building has at last attained completion. Though the new portion was practically finished two years ago, it was only during the past summer and autumn that the old part was renovated, the woodwork having been repainted, the walls and ceiling retinted, the old staircase removed, new window sash substituted for the old, the front door replaced by a more modern and tasteful one, and various other improvements effected, necessary to conform the old and new portions of the structure into a congruous and harmonious whole. Never has our Society during its existence been so well housed as now, and it is pleasant to be able to add that never before has it been in so prosperous and satisfactory condition, and never was it exerting a more salutary and wide spread influence than at the present time.

Particularly is its wholesome influence observable in the matter of public records, in the preservation and perpetuation of which this Society has ever taken an active and conspicuous part. As long ago as 1845 the

City Council of Providence passed a resolution confiding to the custody of this Society a large number of its ancient papers and documents, thus constituting the Society the keeper, at least in part, of its archives. The richness of the possessions of this Society in matters relating to the municipality of Providence has occasioned surprise to visitors from away, and even to many of our members until the last report of the Record Commissioners of Providence called attention to that resolution, the existence of which had been wellnigh forgotten. Now under the supervision of the Record Commissioners and by authority of the City Council all the papers and documents here belonging to the city, are being put in the best possible order and condition according to modern methods, and will be suitably bound together, while the papers and documents belonging to the Society that had become mingled with and were formerly bound with them, will be put in like good order and condition and bound by themselves, so that the MSS. in the keeping of the Society will soon be in a condition for preservation and accessibility never before equalled. There is no intention of removing any of the municipal documents from the custody of the Society,—indeed those documents have been so well preserved and cared for in that custody that it is not impossible that still more of like character will be entrusted to the same keeping. The interest of this Society in the old town records has also been otherwise evinced, for at its instigation the oldest record books of Providence were bound; and though various citizens had urged upon the City Coun-

cil the desirableness of taking some steps towards the better preservation of the old records and the perpetuation of the contents of the oldest thereof in type, it was not until this Society pressed the matter upon the attention of the City Council three years ago that municipal action was taken, when the president, the first vice-president and Mr. Edward Field, another member of this Society, were appointed a Record Commission to perform the task. The results of the Commission's labors thus far have been four printed volumes issued, another being partly in type, and thousands of papers repaired, bound and indexed.

The interest thus aroused has extended to other municipalities, and the Mayor of Newport in his recent inaugural address has recommended to the Council of that city that action be taken towards preserving its old records and papers, and that the Newport Historical Society be selected as a fitting instrumentality for the work. It is earnestly to be hoped by all interested in the history of our commonwealth that Mayor Fearing's recommendation will be heeded without delay, for the historical material contained in the old Newport town records now being permitted to rapidly perish, is unsurpassed in interest and value by those of any of its sister-towns.

The valuable report of our secretary and librarian upon the character and condition of the records of the various towns in the State, which was printed during the past year in the Society's publication, has materially aided in increasing the interest in such records, now fortunately aroused.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the General Assembly will ere long take some broad and adequate action looking to the publication of the valuable historical material belonging to the State. The ten volumes of the Rhode Island Colonial Records leave much to be regretted as well as much to be desired. Though it is not pleasant to admit, yet, unfortunately, it cannot be truthfully denied, that the editorial part of that work was very faultily performed, that the inaccuracies in the records printed are inexcusably numerous, while the omissions of records that should have been embraced in such a work are simply inexplicable. Perhaps it is too much to expect,—though no one interested in such matters can refrain from indulging the hope,—that a second and revised edition of that work may at some time appear. But it is not too much to ask that supplemental volumes should be printed, picking up missing links and supplying unfortunate omissions. Especially should the State see to it that the origin and progress of its laws can be readily traced, and to this end all its public laws from the earliest day down to the adoption of the constitution of 1842, should be reprinted in a series of volumes by themselves. Copies of the earliest Digests of our laws are so scarce that they either cannot be bought at all, or only at most exorbitant prices. But a very few copies of the first printed Digest, that of 1719, are known to be extant. A copy of the Digest of 1767 was sold in Boston at auction in October last for seventy dollars. But two or three copies of the original edition of the Supplement of 1772, being the acts passed since those in the

Digest of 1767, are in existence, and within a few weeks an edition of fifty fac-simile copies of this Supplement has been printed by private enterprise, the subscription price being fifteen dollars, the work itself being a folio of but forty-one printed pages. A man of moderate means can scarcely hope to own the volumes necessary to trace the origin and progress of the laws of Rhode Island even so far as they have been printed— a condition of things that should not be allowed to exist.

During the year just closed there have been fourteen meetings of the Society, at ten of which papers have been read. The following is a list of the subjects and authors of those papers: —

1. Jan. 24, 1893. "Foot-prints of the California Argonauts," by Mr. James Burdick.

2. Feb. 7, 1893. "Remarkable Providences in Crises of the Revolutionary War for American Independence," by the Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner.

3. Feb. 21, 1893. "Samuel Gorton, one of the original settlers of Warwick," by the Hon. William P. Sheffield.

4. March 7, 1893. "The World's Commerce in 1492," by Mr. William B. Weeden.

5. March 21, 1893. "A Century of Lotteries in Rhode Island," by the Hon. John H. Stiness.

6. April 18, 1893. "Journalism and Journalists," by the Rev. Dr. Augustus Woodbury.

7. Oct. 31, 1893. "The Buildings and Grounds of the Columbian Exposition," with stereopticon views, by Mr. Alfred Stone.

8. Nov. 14, 1893. "The Pilgrims and the Plymouth

Colony, with some reference to the controversy concerning the boundary line between the Colony and Rhode Island," by the Hon. William T. Davis.

9. Nov. 28, 1893. "The Expedition of Xavier Mina to Mexico in 1817," by Alfred M. Williams.

10. Dec. 12, 1893. "The Rev. John H. Wheelwright, the first heretic of the Boston pulpit," by the Rev. Dr. George H. Clark.

Eleven active members of the Society have died during the past year, viz.: Henry T. Beckwith, Daniel G. Campbell, Esther B. Carpenter, Daniel E. Day, Charles H. Fisher, M. D., Thomas P. I. Goddard, William Knight, William T. Nicholson, Charles W. Parsons, M. D., Charles E. Tillinghast, and ex-Governor Alfred H. Littlefield. Mr. Beckwith had been a member of the Society for forty-three years, having held many official positions, and having given generously of his time and money to advance its interests. Until comparatively recently he was a constant attendant at its meetings and few men have taken so active a part as he during so many years.

Miss Carpenter was an earnest student of Rhode Island history and has read several papers before the Society.

Dr. Fisher at the time of his death was, and for many years prior thereto had been, one of the procurators of the Society.

To Mr. Goddard our Society is indebted for a donation of one thousand dollars towards the enlargement and improvement of our cabinet facilities.

Dr. Parsons has been a very prominent member of

the Society, having at one time been active as chairman of the library committee, having served as vice-president for several years, and but for rapidly failing health, which withdrew him from further active participation, he would have succeeded our late president as the official head of the Society, an election to which position he felt obliged to decline. At his death he was the senior member of the Society in length of membership.

Three corresponding members of the Society have likewise died during the past year: the Hon. Horatio Gates Jones, Colonel Charles C. Jones, and John C. Buttré.

The Hon. Horatio Gates Jones of Philadelphia, Penn., was elected a corresponding member of this Society, October 5, 1858. He has devoted much time to historical matters and his publications have been numerous. Having married a resident of Rhode Island and possessing a country residence within the borders of our State, where he lived a portion of each year, his interest in Rhode Island affairs was active, as frequent visits to our cabinet demonstrated.

Colonel Charles C. Jones of Augusta, Ga., became a corresponding member of the Society, July 2, 1872. The history of his State and the antiquities of southern Indians have been his favorite studies, and to them he has devoted much time and research. During the late Civil War he was a colonel of artillery in the Confederate service.

John C. Buttré of New York City was elected a corresponding member of the Society, October 8, 1880.

He was a well-known engraver and he published various portrait galleries. Probably no man in America issued so many portraits of persons of more or less celebrity, as he.

The project of a quarterly publication by this Society was inaugurated last April and already four numbers have been issued, but as this subject will doubtless be fully presented to you in the report of the publication committee, which has the work in special charge, further mention of it here will be omitted.

The year just closed will ever be famous in the history of America as marking the existence of the World's Columbian Exposition, holden in the city of Chicago for six months ending on the thirtieth day of last October. The Exposition was gigantic in conception, a marvel of beauty in execution, and formed a fitting finale to the imposing celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America.

Publications during the last twelve months referring to Rhode Island have been few in number; but there has been one, so interesting in character, that I cannot refrain from directing special attention to it. During the latter part of 1893 there was published in Boston a little book of but one hundred and ten pages, entitled, "Massachusetts: Its Historians and Its History: An Object Lesson: By Charles Francis Adams." We of Rhode Island have had such frequent cause to wonder and regret that Massachusetts historians as a class should feel constrained by filial duty, or by some other cause inexplicable to us, to defend the religious persecutions of their ancestors, and, as a consequence, to

detract from and belittle, if not actually to asperse, Roger Williams and the other religious exiles from that State who founded this commonwealth, that we cannot fail to be attracted by the expression of opinions by a member of one of the famous old historic Massachusetts families — himself a lineal descendant of the Rev. Thomas Shepard and the Rev. John Cotton — pervaded by a spirit utterly at variance with those ordinarily entertained by the class to which he belongs.

Referring to Religious Toleration, Mr. Adams says: "Upon that issue, indeed, not only has Massachusetts "failed to make herself felt, but her record as a whole, "and until a comparatively recent period, has been "scarcely even creditable. This, too, was the case "from the beginning." After referring to the events in Massachusetts in 1637, — to the contested charter election which took place in Cambridge on the 27th day of May, as a result of which Governor John Winthrop replaced Governor Sir Harry Vane as chief executive of the colony; to the first Synod of Massachusetts churches, also held in Cambridge, four months later; and to the trial, likewise in Cambridge, of the archheretic Mistress Anne Hutchinson, wherein on the 18th of November, 1637, she was condemned to banishment, — Mr. Adams proceeds in this wise: "'As the "twig is bent, the tree inclines.' The Massachusetts "twig was here, and then bent; and, as it was bent, it "during hard upon two centuries inclined. The ques- "tion of Religious Toleration was, so far as Massachu- "setts could decide it, decided in 1637 in the negative. "On that issue Massachusetts then definitely and finally

" renounced all claim or desire to head the advancing
" column, or even to be near the head of the column;
" it did not go to the rear, but it went well towards it,
" and there it remained until the issue was decided.
" But it is curious to note from that day to this how the
" exponents of Massachusetts polity and thought,
" whether religious or historical, have, so to speak,
" wriggled and squirmed in the presence of the record.
" 'Shuffling,' as George Bishop, the Quaker writer, ex-
" pressed it in 1703, 'and endeavoring to Evade the
" Guilt of it, being ashamed to own it: So that they sel-
" dom mention to any purpose, even in their Histo-
" ries.' They did so in 1637, when they were making
" the record up; they have done so ever since. There
" was almost no form of sophistry to which the founders
" of Massachusetts did not have recourse then,—for
" they sinned against light, though they deceived them-
" selves while sinning, and there is almost no form of
" sophistry to which the historians of Massachusetts
" have not had recourse since,—really deceiving them-
" selves in their attempt to deceive others. And it is
" to this aspect of the case—what may perhaps be not
" unfitly described as the *filio-pietistic* historical aspect
" of it—that I propose to address myself. For in the
" study of history there should be but one law for all.
" Patriotism, piety and filial duty have nothing to do
" with it;—they are, indeed, mere snares and sources
" of delusion. The rules and canons of criticism applied
" to one case and to one character, must be sternly and
" scrupulously applied in all other similar cases to all
" other characters; and, while surrounding circumstan-

"ces should, and, indeed, must be taken into careful "consideration, they must be taken into equal consid- "eration, no matter who is concerned. Patriotism in "the study of history is but another name for provin- "cialism. To see history truly and correctly, it must "be viewed as a whole."

Mr. Adams speaks of Roger Williams and young Sir Henry Vane, as follows:

"But, in reality, Massachusetts missed a great des- "tiny,—and missed it narrowly though wilfully,—'it, "like the base Judean, threw a pearl away, richer than "all his tribe;' for, both Roger Williams and young Sir "Henry Vane were once part of the Commonwealth,— "they had lain, as it were, in its hand.

"Roger Williams, as all know, was the prophet of "complete religious toleration in America. Into the "causes of his banishment from Massachusetts, and "the circumstances attending it, I do not propose now "to enter. That as a man he was 'conscientiously con- "tentious' I should naturally be among the last to "deny; most men who contribute materially towards "bringing about great changes, religious or moral, are "'conscientiously contentious.' Were they not so they "would not accomplish the work they are here to do. "Such men are an essential element in the economy of "nature; and the logic which defends the expulsion of "Roger Williams from Massachusetts in 1635, is only "consistent when it expresses regret that William "Lloyd Garrison was not banished from the United "States, exactly two centuries later, instead of being "dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope

"around his neck. The situations were much the "same; nor were the two men unlike.

"So also as respects Sir Harry Vane. * * * * "Young Henry Vane, like Roger Williams, was in ad- "vance of the fathers of Massachusetts, and they rudely "displaced him and drove him away; and, again, the "stones which the builders refused became the head- "stones of the corner!"

Time will permit of but one more quotation from this book — a book which is as valuable as it is remarkable. In comparing Governor Winthrop and the Rev. John Cotton with Roger Williams and the younger Vane, and referring to the expressions of Bishop, the Quaker martyrologist, to them, Mr. Adams thus writes:

"Suffice it to say, Winthrop and Cotton were not "made of the same stuff as the younger Vane and "Roger Williams. They were men of calmer, less tur- "bulent disposition. They could bear to be suppressed; "and they were suppressed. When a man thus submits "to be suppressed,—conforms outwardly to tenets in "which he does not wholly believe,—the verdict of the "moralist and the historian is adverse to him. He is "held to be derelict,—unequal to the test; and his "course in life is compared with that of the martyr, who "bore fearless evidence regardless of consequences, "whether imprisonment, exile or death. Especially is "this true of the non-conformist who later becomes, as "did Cotton, a conformist. In such case, the inference "is inevitable that, as the man grew older his courage "failed him,—the desire for peace and the comfort of an "accustomed life prevailed over the love of testifying

"to the truth; and then follow the words, 'It was not "so with Roger Williams!' That is all true, and pos- "terity has most properly taken cognizance of the "fact."

It is earnestly to be hoped that the spirit pervading this book of Charles Francis Adams will leaven the work of all future Massachusetts historians,—so far, at least, as relates to the founders of Rhode Island.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.

The committee on grounds and buildings report their expenditure for the year as follows, viz.:

For changing the old building to correspond with the new part, was paid to

Henry M. Horton,	$739 27
Alex. Grant,	339 36
	$1,078 63

Exceeding the appropriation by the sum of $78.63.

For expenditures chargeable to income:

Rhode Island Concrete Co.,	$25 00
L. Vaughan & Co., inside work on cases, etc.,	20 65
W. G. Heath & Co., gas fixtures, etc.,	14 35
H. W. Ladd & Co., curtains,	25 04
L. A. O'Brian, furniture, etc.,	44 75
J. C. Shirley & Son, gas fixtures,	12 80
Boston Glass Store, glass in desk in museum,	10 00
O. Johnson & Co., paint for cabinet,	12 41
W. S. Hogg, care of grounds,	17 70
Water tax,	10 00
Columbia Ladder Co., ladder for cabinet,	6 00
Manchester & Hudson, lime,	2 75
	$201 45

ROYAL C. TAFT,
For the Committee.

Providence, Jan. 9, 1894.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMMITTEE.

The library committee, on this seventy-second annual meeting of the Society, beg leave to report: That the library has been open through the year, except during the month of August, — Mr. Amos Perry, secretary of the Society, being librarian.

During the months of July, August and September the auditorium was closed to allow the work of renovation and alteration therein to be carried on.

The liberality of our citizens, who had just erected the new building, reached out again to aid in completing the restoration of the original cabinet also.

Every volume, pamphlet, map, paper, curiosity and relic in it was removed, and from floor to roof, the building was refinished, giving a new ceiling to the audience-room, with windows of large plate glass; new doors and a lighted, warmed vestibule, with two complete ante-rooms, and the whole unobstructed by the old and useless staircases.

The mustiness and dust of ages was supplanted by the odor of cleanliness, and when the rooms were finished ready for use, it was hard to distinguish the old from the new.

With this change comes a new inspiration to the Society. The outward institution has become a complete and well rounded whole; one, perhaps, more practically fitted for the actual work and uses of the Society than an entirely new building would have been; for in too many modern library buildings, it would seem, that the internal and working uses have been sacrificed, in a large measure, to external architectural display.

During the remainder of the year the work of arranging and classifying the books and property of the Society and cataloguing the volumes of the library has been steadily advanced, and it is still in progress.

For the accessions to the library, portrait gallery and museum of the Society, during the year, reference may be had to the report of the librarian, in which all statistics as to the cabinet and its contents should hereafter be found.

TOWN RECORDS.

The preliminary work already undertaken and accomplished by the Society in reference to town records, is too important to be passed by without notice. The results of this work, so far, are of high value to the State, and have laid the foundation on a solid and reliable basis for future investigation and progress in this important line of historic investigation. These results are clearly exhibited in the report of your secretary, printed in a separate pamphlet of eighty-two pages (No. 2 of the new series), showing the number, character and condition of the volumes of records now existing in each of the towns of the State. The value of such records to historic truth is admirably illustrated in the contents of this pamphlet, and by the late work of Charles Francis Adams,— "The History of the Town of Quincy."

In this connection it is also proper to refer to the action of the Society in 1845, in taking charge of a large number of neglected papers and records of the town of Providence.

Unarranged, unclassified and unindexed, they were packed in bags, and so remained until arranged and preserved in portfolios, under the direction of Albert C. Greene, Esq., then president of the Society. A receipt was given for them, but lost by the authorities, and now only, after nearly half a century has expired, has the city, through its able and energetic record commissioners, called attention to their existence and assumed their charge.

This care and work of preservation, inaugurated by the Society, has its abundant reward in the acknowledgments of the City Council; and these papers, an integral part of the history of Providence, are to be arranged chronologically,

repaired, bound and indexed with the greatest care, at the expense of the city, and returned to the custody of the Society.

The work of the Society, as to the records of all the towns, is in the same line, is sanctioned and aided by the State, and will result in corresponding benefit to both.

The special objects to be kept in view, with regard to the library, now that your building is finished, seem at present to be:

I. To complete all imperfect sets of volumes, both of independent publications and of our regular serials, a work requiring time, rather than expense, and to supply a fuller list of books of reference, so important and valuable to every reader and student of questions relating to our history.

II. To enlarge the collection of genealogical works, which are in constant demand, as this department is yearly assuming new importance in its relation to the history of the families and citizens who constitute the State.

III. According to our original programme, to harmonize and give a greater unity to the somewhat miscellaneous and fragmentary character of the library in the past, and to enrich it in the history of North American discovery, colonization and civilization, especially as related to the character and institutions of Rhode Island and her influence and action upon other States.

IV. To carry forward the work begun as to town history, both as regards all official and unofficial records, manuscripts and personal notices, or memoirs, of those who founded, and of those who later gave character to the several towns.

V. To introduce a proper system of classification of the historic curiosities and relics of the past, now collected in the museum of the Society, and to arrange them, each as its nature may require, in historic order or on scientific lines.

With regard to volumes presented to the Society your committee have to remark, that, the increase in their number, as well as in the business of the Society, is such, that the time and space allowed to the library department in our business meetings, is now so limited that little or no opportunity is given for critical notices of such works.

These volumes will, however, be specially entered in the records, or mentioned in the detailed report of the librarian. Attention may indeed, from time to time, be drawn to such works, as, from their special subjects, or relations to the objects of the Society, call for examination by members engaged in special departments of investigation; even if little more can be done than to state their general plan and scope, or indicate the limits of the field to which their authors have confined their study and research. We cannot, however, omit to notice that, within the last four years, five important histories of the United States have been published.

I. Two additional volumes of Von Holst (1890),—an extension of his original work,—"The Constitutional and Political History of the United States," and now embracing a history of the years 1859–61, immediately preceding the Rebellion; with an index volume, by another hand (1893).

II. That of Mr. Schouler (Dec. '91), in five volumes, covering the period from 1783 to 1861; that is, from the close of the Revolution to the opening of the great Rebellion.

III. That of Mr. Rhodes (Dec. '92), in two volumes, covering the period from the adoption of the "Compromise Bill" of 1850 to 1860; that is, the decade preceding the Rebellion.

IV. Still another, "The History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War," by John Bach McMasters; the first three volumes of which are already published (the third in 1892), leaving two volumes only, yet to appear.

V. That of Goldwin Smith (1893), in one volume, "The United States: An Outline of Political History;" 1492–1871.

This unusual list of twelve so recent volumes, by five different writers, illustrates the fresh and vigorous interest in historical investigation, awakened among our scholars and our people. It is also a happy augury for the future, not only of a clearer understanding of the principles and action of the founders of our government, but of a manly progress towards a better application of their principles and a purification of their practices.

While the field of "Bancroft's History" is limited to the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, these later works embrace, between them, the era of the Constitution and Rebellion, reaching over, in fact, the first century of our development as a Nation, under that Constitution.

While criticism here is precluded, it is important to notice, that elaborate biographies, multitudinous papers of public men, published during the last half century, and a freer access to the archives of our own and foreign governments, have furnished a fund of material for true history quite inaccessible to those who wrote one and two generations ago. Of all this, these various writers have largely availed themselves. The difference in this respect and in the spirit and use of modern historical methods, give a new aspect to these recent histories. The historian now does not so much dwell on the great and striking events, which in wars and tumults strike the public eye and ear, as upon the antecedent causes, in the development of human reason, human conscience, or human passion, which led to and produced these events.

It is the working of the public mind and heart as to public acts, which attracts their notice, — the rushing tide, as it were, of public sentiment, whether moving upon the character or action of an administration, — upon a great measure of finance, — upon a great public wrong, — or upon a point of national honor and the avoidance of national disgrace.

At the same time, a work like that of Goldwin Smith, who aims to bring the written annals and recognized history of our territory within the compass of a single volume, requires most comprehensive generalization. It is a masterpiece of condensation, and with its division into the Colonial and the Revolutionary periods, as well as those of the Constitution and of the great Rebellion, presents a series of graphic views which must stamp a new and clearer image of the development of our country on the minds of many who have been too busy, or too indifferent, to follow the various events, reverses and triumphs of the past, by which the country has been educated, disciplined and established.

The works treating of the earlier periods under the Constitution are especially interesting, as they exhibit the conflict-

ing interests, jealousies and struggles between the thirteen original and independent Colonies, when brought and held together under a Constitution, and first feeling the tension and check of a new and rigid bond which neither of them had the power to disrupt.

This new experience, so different from that under the loose and elastic ties of the confederation, which a life and death struggle with a foreign foe could hardly hold together, is one of the most striking and interesting exhibits of our early constitutional life. The situation was one of constant surprises and complications.

Questions as to mutual relations and obligations of a thousand kinds were then new and untried. There were no precedents, no decisions, no rules or judgments of any constitutional tribunal, like those to which a century in judicial harness leads us implicitly to yield. All new questions were then serious and grave, environed often with uncertainty and fear; both parties looking with doubt and anxiety as to the possibility of any practical or peaceful solution of conflicting claims. For the first time, perhaps, in the history of nations, the judicial power had been made independent of the legislative and of the executive power, but the problem of its success or failure was far from being solved. We must always remember that the new system was then absolutely unproved and untried. The knowledge of its success for one hundred years is ours; but we cannot read history aright, or justly judge the contentions or contestants of the early days of the Republic, in the light of our present knowledge of this supreme success.

But, while rendering due houor to the living authors of these modern works, we cannot close this paper without noticing a recent loss to history and historic truth, in the death of Francis Parkman, which can hardly be repaired. To any one who knew him as a friend and correspondent, it is not necessary to say, that the personality of the man was a constant attraction, owing to the simplicity and naturalness of his character.

As a scholar, investigator and master of historic composi-

tion, he was preëminent in his sphere, not only in his own country but in the literary world.

To write the history of New France and its momentous relations to his own country, was an object which occupied his mind from the days of his youth, and his many volumes are a noble contribution to American history, unsurpassed in fidelity to truth, in beauty of description and in grace of style.

A life of ill health and suffering, of fading eye-sight, of painful days and sleepless nights, could not shake his fortitude, nor cool the ardor of his aspirations.

For depth of research into the archives of the Nations and for personal study of the life and the customs of the Indians his works are almost without a parallel; while his clearness of expression and love of nature give a wonderful charm to the features of every landscape which it came within his province to describe. His works are a living portraiture of early North American colonization and will remain such for all future time. They extend over more than a century of conflict, and the lover of romance, or of dramatic art, will find in their pages the exhibition of all human characters and all human passions, from princes to peasants, and from cannibal savage to martyr priest. Wars and truces, massacres and burnings are but interludes of the story, — the victors of one generation are the vanquished of the next. Though kings and nations sustain the conflict, the fruits of bloody conquests are thoughtlessly surrendered, or bartered for a trifling gain.

In the triumph of victory it seems often to have been forgotten, that the stake at final issue was half of the New World. Well might such a subject challenge his devotion; and well did he respond to it, with the gift of his life. It is for us to be thankful that he was spared to round out the series of volumes he had planned, and complete the record by his own master-hand.

WILLIAM D. ELY.
HOWARD W. PRESTON,
AMOS PERRY.
} Library Committee.

Providence, Jan. 9, 1894.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON GENEALOGICAL RESEARCHES.

The committee on genealogical researches respectfully report: Decided progress has been made in furnishing facilities for the work of genealogical students.

The printed index now gives a ready reference to the genealogies possessed, and shows how many more are needed. It is hoped that members will hand to the librarian lists of books which it may seem especially desirable to add to the genealogical collection.

We welcome heartily the advent of the Society's magazine, which adds so much to the usefulness of this institution. Comparatively few persons can attend meetings, but hundreds can find time to read the magazine. If at a future time the editors should find it possible to give a little space to genealogical sketches, many persons would doubtless eagerly embrace the opportunity to have their manuscripts printed. Articles have already appeared that aid the genealogist, notably the report on the condition of the town records.

In your committee's last two reports the importance was emphasized of printing the marriages and deaths from such early newspapers as the *Newport Mercury* and *Providence Gazette.* It is gratifying to learn that

this work will be included in an additional volume of the Vital Records, which will also contain the extremely valuable church records of this State, so far as they relate to baptisms, marriages, etc.

For the Committee,

JOHN O. AUSTIN.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN AND CABINET KEEPER,

For the Year 1893.

An outline of the work that was carried forward during the year 1893 is contained in the librarian's report, rendered a year ago and brought out in the last printed Proceedings of the Society. That report gave some idea of the multifarious material contained in the cabinet and explained the system of classification adopted and to what purposes the several rooms in the building are devoted. Some hopes that were entertained when that report was written have been disappointed and some objects have been accomplished which, though greatly desired, were hardly expected. Of the latter class is the renovation from the basement upward of the old cabinet. Parts of this structure had gone on forty-nine years unchanged except by accumulated dust, rubbish and cobwebs.

Though important, nay, indispensable to the well-being of the Society, the change that has been effected has interfered with carefully laid plans. It has absorbed funds that would otherwise have enriched the library. It has occupied for a long time the entire library force in removing back and forth the material that had been carefully arranged on shelves. Yet despite these and all other drawbacks, the Society has taken a step forward which it can never regret. It has entered upon the year 1894 with its cabinet in better condition than ever before. At this seventy-second annual meeting it is in a better way to accomplish the end for which it was established than at any previous period in its history.

It may be of interest to some of our members to be assured that their Society is associated with advanced and progressive institutions far and near. It is in correspondence with most of the leading historical societies of this country and with several eminent institutions of the Old World. The full num-

ber of corresponding institutions is nearly one hundred. As the Society has grown up on Rhode Island soil and is permeated with the spirit of the founders of the State, it is a source of satisfaction that its relations outside of the State are extensive and cordial.

The system of exchanges and correspondence carried on by it involves no small amount of labor on the part of the secretary and librarian. A book is kept, entitled, "Records of Exchanges." In this are briefly recorded, in the account with each institution, on one page whatever books, pamphlets, maps, charts, etc., are sent to that institution, and on the opposite page whatever are received from it. These corresponding historical institutions constitute a bond of union and friendship that now and then results in great good. The several libraries are replenished without serious loss.

Among the foreign institutions with which our Society is in correspondence, are—

1. The Royal Historical Society, London. In their appropriate place in our library are nearly a score of interesting and valuable volumes, together with several unbound volumes. Learning by the last annual report of the librarian about the printing of the Records of Providence, the London Society made a special application to be furnished with copies of those records. That application was reported to the secretary of the Providence commission on early town records. The request was granted, the volumes were sent and grateful acknowledgments were returned.

2. The Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries at Copenhagen has been in correspondence with this Society for more than half a century. The relations were for a long time intimate and have always been cordial.

3. The Royal University at Christiania, Norway, has exchanged publications with this Society many years.

4. Early during the last year the president of the Royal Academy of History at Stockholm, Sweden, addressed a letter to the president of this Society, requesting that the name of that institution might be placed on our exchange list. It seemed ungracious to say *no*. Our quarterly publications have been sent there together with several volumes which we

could spare, and that institution has sent back grateful acknowledgments, together with a liberal supply of its historical publications.

It is due to say here that while the members of the last three societies named appear to understand our language and to appreciate our publications, unfortunately most of our members lack the power to understand and appreciate their works. We have upon our shelves two series of publications of the Danish Society that are now of great value. These are occasionally sought and consulted by eminent scholars, who make grateful acknowledgments of the privileges here enjoyed.

Attention is called to the foreign department of our library with a view of enlisting in our Society some scholarly gentlemen who, with a critical knowledge of the languages referred to, are now citizens of our State and country and would be welcomed as members of this Society.

In this cursory glance across the ocean and to different parts of our country, we do not overlook the fact that the primary object of our Society is local history. Indeed, we believe that by an extended and broad survey we are better prepared to enter our special field of labor and cultivate it with renewed vigor. It is a matter of observation that few of the institutions to which our attention has been directed have succeeded in sustaining much life and in efficiently promoting the cause of history without maintaining one or more stated publications. The Virginia Historical Society, with which we have long been in correspondence, has recently begun a quarterly publication with the view of securing the end for which it was organized, and excellent results are already apparent.

It is a matter of satisfaction that the Society has, within a brief period, succeeded in obtaining a report from every town and city clerk's office in the State, and that that report is circulated in print and is read far and near. The Society has engaged to send a copy of its publications to town and city clerks, and it hopes to receive in return their respective tax books, which constitute part of their local history. A cordial

relation is courted with a view to mutual helpfulness and usefulness.

In the absence of a State commissioner of public records, this Society can and should, with State aid, suggest and facilitate improvements that are needed in various directions. It would be recreant to its own principles if it did not put forth a decided effort to collect and save the official papers of the most eminent citizens of the State during the Revolutionary War—if it did not try to have various Revolutionary papers looked after, catalogued and indexed with the view of honoring the memory of those to whom we are indebted for the blessings that fall to our lot.

The reception-book shows that there were received during the last year 284 bound volumes, 1,324 unbound, and 184 miscellaneous articles.

These figures are given out of respect to custom,—not because we think them the best indexes of progress, work or character. These acquisitions are, to a certain extent, indications of interest, work and progress. If the Society were in a morbid state, no such record would be found. It is not, however, the number of acquisitions that speak, but their value. A general and widely extended interest in our work can hardly fail to bring about such favorable results as these figures indicate.

THE MUSEUM.

The most marked accomplishment of the last year, aside from the renovation of the old cabinet already referred to, is the beginning of the historical museum, an outline of which was given in the librarian's report last year. The importance,—the necessity, of this measure was conceded. Historic materials of a certain class had been gathering from the time when the Society was founded, and had remained, most of them, packed away out of sight. They are now spread out, most of them in the upper room on the west side of the cabinet, and other articles that are coming in give promise of an historical museum that will by and by serve a very important purpose in connection with our system of public instruction. The acquisition of an industrious and faithful assistant in this

department has rendered the establishment of this museum possible.

It may as well be said here that there are several departments of labor in this cabinet that require special tact, skill and talent. We have rare old deeds, records, official documents, pictures, memorials and keep-sakes of various kinds that can be safely entrusted only to well-trained specialists. Aid and counsel are solicited from persons who have had experience in the kinds of work here indicated.

At this time it is easier to point out the work that needs doing than that which has been done. With such an overturn as we have had, a very large amount of labor devolves on the library force. The work of cataloguing under the new order of things is little more than begun. A step only has been taken in the right direction. Fourteen thousand bound volumes need to be catalogued and a still larger number of pamphlets. Also, a large amount of material in the basement of the building needs to be assorted and an account of it taken.

THE NEWSPAPER-ROOM.

The newspaper-room needs to be thoroughly overhauled. Its more than eighteen hundred bound volumes need to be re-arranged. Some of them need to be re-bound. Many of them need to be labeled and to have their bindings repaired. Imperfect sets should be completed. The shelves all need to be numbered and labeled. Then the work of cataloguing can go on, and an account taken of duplicate volumes.

The value and importance of the newspaper department of this library can hardly be overestimated. The Society early put forth earnest efforts to obtain complete sets of the newspapers of the colony and the State. The fruits of its labors are now seen in the newspaper-room. In 1875, the legislature inaugurated a plan the results of which are most favorable to the cause of Rhode Island history. Any citizen of the State has the right to examine newspapers and books belonging to the State under the rules of the Society, but this does not include free access to every part of the library as many visitors seem to imagine. It is painful to report that some of the choice, rare old volumes of the last century have

been treated unhandsome by persons admitted to the privileges of this room. Other injuries have resulted, showing that closer supervision is required to prevent the clipping of paragraphs where the privilege of copying only has been granted.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Though several hundred bound and unbound volumes were added to the library during the last year, there is a pressing demand not for ponderous historical works, but for family genealogies, town histories, biographical dictionaries, encyclopædias and statistical works, pertaining especially to our revolutionary and colonial periods. The movement is manifestly in this direction. The Sons and the Daughters of the Revolution, and the Colonial Dames want information, and thus a field of inquiry is opened which we cannot afford to ignore or neglect.

To furnish the desired information, two lines of research must be pursued. One is through the annals of the revolutionary and colonial periods of our State, and the other is through such works as are to be found in our genealogical-room, in biographical sketches, town histories and magazines whose special purpose is to supply this kind of information.

While Cowell's "Spirit of '76," Bartlett's "Colonial Records," Arnold's "History of Rhode Island," the Historical Society's four volumes of "Military Papers," orderly-books and other similar works at our command are important sources of information, they often fail to serve their full purpose for the lack of indexes.

The fact is beyond question that to duly honor the memory of our revolutionary and colonial soldiers, there must be prepared an indexed compilation of pertinent authentic records from every available source. Some of these records are in this cabinet, some in our State House, some in the Massachusetts and New York State Houses, some in the archives of different departments of our national government, and some in private hands.

The State of Connecticut has admirably done its work of this kind. It has brought out two thick imperial 8vo volumes, one entitled, "Record of Connecticut Men in the War of the

Revolution, the War of 1812 and the War with Mexico." The other is entitled, "Record of Connecticut Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861–1865." New Hampshire has its revolutionary rolls well arranged and well printed. Massachusetts is engaged in the same line of labor. Rhode Island is doing honor to its soldiers of the last war in the work compiled and edited by Adjutant-General Dyer — a work, which, though its title does not properly indicate its character, is creditable to the State and to its editor.

Yet though no State did itself more honor and the country better service in the war for Independence than Rhode Island, no adequate measures have been adopted for honoring the memories of the men who fought its battles and won its victories. The work is the more difficult on account of its having been so long neglected.

While this Society cannot enter upon so great and responsible an enterprise, it can and should, in the opinion of the librarian, authorize the employment of a specialist to index its four volumes of military papers. This would be a step preparatory to the greater work. It can and should procure copies of our revolutionary rolls that are in other States. It can also with propriety memorialize the General Assembly to inaugurate the great work that is so much needed.

GENEALOGICAL DEPARTMENT.

The credit of inaugurating this department of the library belongs primarily to Dr. Henry E. Turner of Newport, whose well-directed efforts to collect and preserve the records of Rhode Island families date back to the period of his youth. He brought to Providence many years ago his valuable genealogical collections and explained at a large meeting of this Society his mode of classifying and arranging various family records. He has counseled and encouraged younger persons who have engaged in genealogical pursuits; notably, the compiler of the volumes of "Vital Statistics of Rhode Island," referred to elsewhere.

It is a pleasure to be able to report the following acquisitions to this department of the library during the year 1893. This list does not include such genealogical sketches as are

contained in town histories, biographical dictionaries, and such magazines as are not devoted to genealogical pursuits.

Armstrong Family (The) of Windham, N. H.
Barber Family. Genealogy of the. The Descendants of Robert Barber of Lancaster Co., Penn.
Chandler Family (The). Descendants of William and Annis Chandler.
Farnsworth, Matthias, and his Descendants in America.
Plymouth Colony Families.
Poole, Edward, of Weymouth, Mass. History of
Tanner, Sr., Thomas. Genealogy of the Descendants of
Tower Genealogy. Descendants of John Tower.
Van Rensselaers. Annals of the

American Ancestry, Munsell, Vol. VIII.
Americans of Royal Descent, by Browning.
Hand-book of American Genealogy, by Whitmore.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Record. By exchange, 23 of the 24 vols. (Vol. VI., 1875, wanted.)
New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1893.

VITAL STATISTICS OF RHODE ISLAND, BY ARNOLD.

Vols. 2, 3 & 4. This series of "Vital Statistics" merits more than a passing mention. It does credit to the persevering industry of its compiler and to the intelligence of our legislators who have aided in a worthy and commendable enterprise for the public good.

PAMPHLETS.

Green, Percival and Ellen. Account of, and of some of their Descendants.
Hooker, Rev. Thomas. (A paper read at the Hooker gathering, 1892.)
Dana Family, } MSS.
Dana Genealogy, }
Dana, Richard. Memoranda of some of the Descendants of
Tompkins, Sr., Edward. Record of the Ancestry and Kindred of the Children of

The foregoing list of genealogical works received during the last year is small compared with the list for which there is an earnest call by visitors at the genealogical room. We give below a few titles to which our attention is forcibly directed.

WANTED.

The Rodman Genealogy.
The Earle Genealogy.
The Capron Genealogy.
Pearson's First Settlers of Albany.
The Walker Genealogy.
The Rice Genealogy.
Burke's Extinct Peerage.
The Harleian Society Publications, 55 imperial 8vo vols.
The Alumni Oxonienses, 1715–1886, 4 vols. in two.

So great and so general is the interest in genealogical studies that the librarian suggests that some space be devoted in three numbers of the Society's quarterly publications for the promotion of this branch of our local history. There are among our manuscripts two volumes of Foster papers, and one volume of Moses Brown papers, which though strictly of a genealogical character and replete with interest to numerous Rhode Island families, are known only by a few members of the Society.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The following are a few of the many acquisitions classed in the accession list as *miscellaneous:* —

Portrait of Edward R. Young. Artist, Arnold. Gift of George F. and Nicholas B. Young.

Fac-simile of the original record of the order of the banishment of Roger Williams. Gift of Franklin W. Smith, Boston.

Portraits of Charles Dyer, father and son, and of two other members of the Dyer family. Gift of Charles Sowle Dyer.

Deed of Christopher Lippitt to Owners of Hope Furnace Company, 1785.

Deed, 1774, with autographs of Stephen Hopkins, Nicholas, Joseph, John and Moses Brown, Jabez Bowen and others with their respective wives, from Edward Congdon.

Fac-simile of the original Declaration of Independence. Gift of the Department of State, Washington, D. C.

Likenesses of Col. Christopher Greene and of Com. Esek Hopkins.

Diploma of the late John P. Knowles as U. S. District Judge of the District of Rhode Island.

A description of the scene near the Great Bridge during the gale, Sept. 27, 1815, taken from the lips of an eye-witness by Mrs. Esther Hoppin E. Lardner of Philadelphia, and placed here by Mr. H. F. Richards.

Description of the Gaspee House in Providence, by Edward D. Morris.

Five original documents relating to layouts of land in Providence.

1st laid out by Mr. Hopkins in 1705.
2d " " " Thomas Fenner, 1719.
3d " " " Daniel Abbott, 1724.
4th " " " " " 1724.
5th " " " Elisha ——, Surveyor, 1728.

The gift of Marsden J. Perry.

Many old charts used by mariners during the early part of this century. The gift of Miss H. D. Sheldon.

Many photographs of historic buildings in Providence, contributed by George H. Burnham and Gustine L. Hurd.

Many historic antiquities and illustrations of Rhode Island colonial life and customs, now arranged in the historical museum, including our grandmothers' New England Kitchen.

THE OLD DROP-SCENE.

Special attention is invited to one of the most remarkable pictures in the cabinet,—a picture that was painted ten years before this Society was organized, and represents Providence as it was eighty-two years ago. The old drop-scene is not in its place though often inquired after by visitors. It had to be taken down to make way for repairs in the auditorium and is now rolled up in the basement of the building. It needs relining and retouching. Competent judges have expressed the opinion that it should not again be suspended upon our walls until it has been properly restored. The librarian awaits instruction upon this matter.

BOOKS AND PAMPHLETS.

Our reception-book shows that 1608 books and pamphlets were received last year. Some of them were obtained by exchange and some by purchase, but the larger number are

recorded as gifts. It is due to say that in this record everything received from an institution with which this Society is in correspondence, and everything sent to that institution, appears as a gift, though the idea of an exchange is involved. In the accounts with great living and life-giving institutions, examples of which are at hand, the balance is not in our favor. We have upon our shelves their valuable series of historical works, while our contributions to their libraries are comparatively small. On the other hand, many institutions with which this Society is in correspondence make but slight returns for favors received.

Still this manifestly loose system of exchanges works well as a whole. Members of this Society are thus enabled to learn what is going on elsewhere, — what kindred institutions are doing and how they carry on their work, and just what relation our Society sustains to them.

It hardly need be said that the issue of our quarterly publication is a step forward and upward, and the librarian may be pardoned for saying that the movement should be sustained by friends far and near sending to the treasurer their dollar subscriptions. Instead of the annual tax of three dollars, it is suggested that members send (without being asked) four dollars and thus ensure the continuance of the quarterly.

Some of the books and pamphlets received are upon the foregoing genealogical list. Some idea of the character of other acquisitions may be gained by looking over the two lists of givers inserted further on. The acquisitions comprise a great variety of subjects and objects. Many friends far and near are looking after the interests of the Society, sending, as they have the opportunity, contributions that enrich its shelves and promote its usefulness. Different departments of our national government made valuable contributions to our library last year. The aid rendered by associate institutions is appreciated. The librarian is indebted to our various charitable and educational institutions for their annual reports.

In the New England room are a few shelves devoted to the publications of New England colleges and universities. This department is in a formatory state. Thus far Harvard and

Yale are the best represented. The publications of Brown University belong in the main room of the building.

In looking over records made in the reception-book during the past year, the following are a few of the many books and pamphlets that attract our attention:

Maryland Archives. Vol. XI.
Adams' Handbook of American Authors.
Hough's Biographical Dictionary.
History of the Bank of North America.
Parkman's Histories. Parts 4, 5, 6, 7. 6 vols.
History of the Town of Hingham. 4 vols.
Defence of Edgar Poe.
Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages. By Powell.
Dedham Records. Vol. III.
German Allied Troops. By Rosengarten.
Early Records of the Town of Providence. Vols. II, III, IV.
History of Spencer, Mass.
History of Canton, Mass.
History of Ancient Windsor, Conn. 2 vols.
Correspondence of Samuel B. Webb. 2 vols.
Battery F, R. I. Light Artillery.
Battery E, R. I. Light Artillery.
New York Society of Colonial Wars.
Year-Book of the Connecticut Society of the Sons of the American Revolution.
Rhodes' History of the United States. 2 vols.
Schouler's History of the United States. 5 vols.
History of Elections in the American Colonies. By Bishop.
Rhode Island Woman's Directory.
Life of Ferdinand De Soto.
Annals of the Army of the Cumberland.
Constitutional History of the United States. By Von Holst.
The Iroquois Trail.
Historical Collections of South Carolina. By Carroll. 2 vols.
Familiar Quotations. By Bartlett.
Memorial of the Inauguration of Washington. Edited by Clarence Winthrop Bowen.

Burgoyne's Ballads. By Stone.
Record of Connecticut in the War of the Rebellion.
Privateer Providence. By Albert Holbrook.

LOCAL HISTORY.

A request is made by the lecture committee that papers be prepared to be read at meetings of the Society,—papers that have a direct bearing on some branch or topic of Rhode Island history; for example, the suffrage question in Rhode Island; slavery in Rhode Island and the slave trade by Rhode Islanders; privateers and privateering; eminent statesmen, judges, lawyers, writers on international law, senators and representatives in congress, diplomats and consuls, poets, orators, artists, soldiers, merchants, divines, physicians, educators, scholars, inventors, or men who have made their mark in some branch of industry; together with sketches of the religious, educational, philanthropic, philosophic, scientific and artistic institutions that indicate the life and character of our people.

Every town in the State has a variety of topics worthy of special attention and note, as seen in the chapter of the Rhode Island State Census of 1885, pages 11–68. Some of the topics suggested at random are bridges, ferries, town clerks and town clerk offices, postmasters and postoffices, pauperism, insanity, taverns, turnpikes and tollgates, stages, packets, Indian trails, customs and names. To bring about a better acquaintance with our local history, local historical topics should be more frequently discussed at the stated meetings of the Society, and to this end the lecture committee invite interested persons to secure for them carefully prepared essays on some of the many subjects that have a direct bearing on the history of the State.

SPECIAL NOTE.

Since the foregoing report was ready for the press, the death of Mr. George C. Mason, an accomplished student and writer of Rhode Island history, who has done so much for the benefit of this Society and to make his native city and State known and respected, has been announced. Seven volumes of his

works, all of them well bound, and some of them large and admirably illustrated, are upon the shelves of this Society, with book-marks showing that they were his gifts. The crowning work of his life, however, is not here. That work required a large expenditure and occupied much of Mr. Mason's time during eight consecutive years. It consists of six thick folio volumes (12 x 15 inches), as yet unbound, and comprises treasures gleaned from the homes of illustrious ancestors and distinguished citizens, all pertaining to the history of Rhode Island. The work is entitled,—

"Newport Historical and Social Reminiscences of Ye Olden Times. With more than 550 illustrations, autograph letters, documents, colonial commissions, bound sheets and other original papers, dating back more than 175 years, 200 portraits, etc., etc."

Mr. Mason, although generous to a fault, could not give this work to the library. It was his desire, however, that it should remain in his native State, the property either of a worthy institution or of a public-spirited citizen.

When last seen by the librarian, Mr. Mason had received from a gentleman residing out of the State, a standing offer of one thousand dollars ($1000) for the work. He said, unless a larger sum were raised in Rhode Island, the work would be claimed by contract and removed from the State. This situation is unchanged by his death.

Two members of this Society have offered to give towards the sum required, each $100, and several smaller sums are promised for the same object. It is hoped that patriotic and liberal-minded gentlemen and ladies will organize a movement that will result in placing this work where it will be accessible to the students of Rhode Island history who reside in the State. Neither this Society nor the citizens of the State can afford to let this work be carried away for the lack of little more than half the sum originally asked and expected by the eminent historian and biographer of Gilbert Stuart.

AMOS PERRY,
Librarian and Cabinet Keeper.

REPORT OF PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

The publication committee of the Rhode Island Historical Society, reports as follows :—

In pursuance of the vote passed at the meeting of the Society, January 10, 1893, they have issued during the year last past the "Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society, new series."

No. 1 was issued in April, and consisted of the usual annual transactions and accompanying reports.

No. 2, issued in July, consisted of Mr. Perry's report on the Town Records of Rhode Island.

No. 3, issued in October, contained the plea of the Pawtuxet purchasers, etc., with notes, the Tax List of the town of Providence, July 1, 1679, and original papers never before printed on the Indian Slaves of King Philip's War, with notes.

No. 4, issued in January, 1894, consists of papers on Rhode Island History by Charles Stickney (Know-Nothingism in Rhode Island); Neil Andrews, Jr. (The Development of the Nominating Convention in Rhode Island); and Mary E. Woolley (Early History of the Colonial Post Office).

The following is a statement of the expenses and receipts for 1893, of this undertaking:—

The cost of printing No. 1 was . .	$135 24
" " " " " 2 " . .	161 10
" " " " " 3 " . .	132 75
" " " " " 4 " . .	96 60
Paid for copying, ...	15 45
	$541 14
To meet this we have 43 subscriptions, .	$43 00
Int. account on the publication fund, .	287 50
	$329 50

This shows a deficiency of . . . $211 64

It is evident, that unless more members of the Society respond to the appeal to subscribe to the "Publications," its issue must cease.

In order that the members may have an opportunity to pass upon this matter, we recommend that the treasurer when he sends out the annual bills this year, add thereto a statement that for one dollar more the "Publications" for 1893, will be delivered to the subscriber, enclosing therewith a copy of the appeal or statement issued by your committee.

In this way every member will have the opportunity to decide whether to pay only the annual due, $3.00, or to take the last year's issue of our "Publications" for one dollar more.

And unless by April 1, the members subscribe sufficiently to this project to pay the deficiency, we recommend the discontinuance of our "Publications."

Your committee are much indebted to Professor W. H. Munro, whose coöperation as assistant to the committee they requested early in the year, for his valuable services in connection with their work.

E. BENJ. ANDREWS,
JAMES G. VOSE,
AMASA M. EATON,
} Publication Committee.

At the annual meeting, January 9, 1894, the following resolution was passed:—

Resolved, That the treasurer when sending out the annual bills this year, add thereto a statement that for one dollar more the "Publications" for 1893 will be delivered to the subscriber, and enclosing therewith a copy of the appeal or statement issued by the publication committee.

And unless the members subscribe sufficiently to this project by April 1, to pay the deficiency, the publication committee is authorized and directed to discontinue the "Publications."

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

General Account.

Richmond P. Everett, Treasurer, in account with the Rhode Island Historical Society.

Dr.

1893.			
Jan. 10.	Cash on hand,		$394 55
1894.			
Jan. 9.	State of Rhode Island,		1,500 00
	Income from Investment of Samuel M. Noyes and Henry J. Steere legacies,		1,332 37
	Taxes from 269 members,		807 00
	Taxes from 13 members, overdue,		39 00
	Subscriptions for repairs of Cabinet as follows:		
	Julia Bullock,	$100 00	
	Horatio Rogers,	50 00	
	Charles H. Smith,	50 00	
	Charles Fletcher,	50 00	
	William Callender,	25 00	
	John E. Troup,	25 00	
	Samuel Foster,	25 00	
	William D. Ely,	25 00	
	Marsden J. Perry,	25 00	
	Nicholas Sheldon,	20 00	
	Charles H. Child,	10 00	
	Edwin D McGuinness,	5 00	
	James H. Bugbee,	2 00	
			412 00
	Interest from life membership fund,		89 53
	Fees for Admission, 11 members,		55 00
	Interest,		33 40
	Sale of books,		13 00
			$4,675 85

CR.

1894.			
Jan. 9.	Salaries of librarian and janitor, . . .		$1,480 00
	Building and grounds:		
	For repairs on Cabinet, . .	$1,078 63	
	For Sundry Expenditures, . .	201 45	
			1,280 08
	Fuel and gas, ...		335 31
	Postage, meetings and express, . . .		332 74
	Printing, ...		214 69
	Library Committee, ...		1,013 24
	Cash on hand, ...		19 79
	Deposited in the Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co., $19.79.		
			$4,675 85

Providence, Jan. 8, 1894.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct.

LEWIS J. CHACE,
JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

INVESTMENT FUND.

Legacy of Samuel M. Noyes,		$12,000 00
" " Henry J. Steere,		10,000 00
" " John Wilson Smith,		1,000 00
		$23,000 00
Invested as follows:		
Mortgages,	$13,250 00	
Bonds,	9,350 00	
Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co.,	400 00	
	$23,000 00	

PUBLICATION FUND.

$3,000. Restricted; only the interest to be expended for publications in this department.

Legacy of Ira B. Peck,	$1,000 00
" " William Gammell,	1,000 00
" " Albert J. Jones,	1,000 00
Cash on hand,	330 50
	3,330 50

Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co., participation acct., $3,330.50.

Providence, Jan. 8, 1894.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct.

LEWIS J. CHACE,
JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

PUBLICATION FUND.

Richmond P. Everett, Treasurer, in account with Rhode Island Historical Society.

DR.

1893.		
	Cash on hand, ...	$3,460 24
May 10.	Interest from Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co., Participation account, . . .	69 20
Nov. 10.	Interest from Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co., Participation account, . . .	67 36
1894.		
Jan. 9.	Forty-three subscribers for the Publications, .	43 00
		$3,639 80

CR.

1893.		
July 7.	C. M. Gallup, for copying for Publications, .	$15 45
29.	Standard Printing Co., for 1000 copies, . .	161 10
Nov. 10.	Standard Printing Co., for 1000 copies, . .	132 75
1894.		
Jan. 9.	Cash on hand, ...	$3,330 50
		$3,639 80

Deposited in Rhode Island Hospital Trust Co., Participation account, $3,330 50.
The income of $3,000 can only be used for expenses of this department.

Providence, Jan. 8th, 1894.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct.

LEWIS J. CHACE,
JAMES BURDICK,
FERDINAND A. LINCOLN,
Audit Committee.

Life Membership Fund.

Richmond P. Everett, Treasurer, in account with Rhode Island Historical Society.

Dr.

1893.		
	To cash on hand, ...	$2,093 76
Aug. 22.	Interest from Mechanics Savings Bank for January and July, 1893, ...	45 49
	Interest from Providence Institution for Savings, for January and July, 1893, . . .	44 04
		$2,183 29

Cr.

1893.			
	Interest from Mechanics Savings Bank, . .		45 49
	Interest from Providence Institution for Savings, carried to general account.		44 04
1894.			
Jan. 9.	Cash on hand, ...		$2,093 76
	Providence Institution for Savings,	$1,090 90	
	Mechanics Savings Bank, . .	1,002 86	
		$2,093 76	
			$2,183 29

Providence, Jan. 8, 1894.

We have examined the above account, and find it correct.

Lewis J. Chace,
James Burdick,
Ferdinand A. Lincoln,
Audit Committee.

ROGER WILLIAMS VINDICATED; OR, AN ANSWER TO "A KEYHOLE FOR ROGER WILLIAMS' KEY."

By William Wallace Tooker.

"A Keyhole for Roger Williams' Key; or, a study of suggested misprints in its sixteenth chapter, 'Of the Earth and the Fruits thereof, etc.,'" a paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society by Wm. D. Ely, Esq., now lies before me.

The suggested misprint is, that the meaning of the words *auqúnnash*, "barnes," and *necawnâuquanash*, "old barnes," in the last but two of the Indian words in that chapter, should read, "beanes," and "old beanes."

In taking the opposite view of this supposition, I do it with no spirit of carping criticism; but simply to show how, with different eyes, another person will look at these interesting problems. A remark made a few years ago by Dr. Horatio Hale, the eminent philologist, "that we can all find enough to do in this field, without finding minute faults in the work of others," is true enough. I do not wish to find fault with Mr. Ely or to criticise his work. He, evidently, has devoted much time and research to it. The question at issue is this: is Roger Williams right or not? This is the basis of Mr. Ely's paper, and this will be the basis of my few remarks on the subject; although I shall have to use certain portions of his essay for illustration. The Rhode Island Historical Society, in this era of scientific investigation, desires the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. This undoubtedly is what Mr. Ely desired in starting the ball a-rolling. As he has invited me through Dr. Amos Perry, secretary of your Society, to enter the field, and to present

the reasons for my opinion lately expressed, that Roger Williams made no mistake in translating this word as "barn," I will endeavor to give it as plainly as I possibly can. Probably no one,—I say it with no egotism,—has devoted more time and study to Roger Williams' Key, especially to this particular chapter, for the past six years, than I have. So many words, or parts of words, in this chapter enter into the composition of Indian geographical names occurring upon Long Island, N. Y., made it necessary for me to be very careful and thorough in studying each and every name given therein by Roger Williams.

Therefore all of the evidence here presented against Mr. Ely's hypothesis, is not the result of the publishing of his essay, but is the condensed memoranda of some years. The study of Indian nomenclature is an interesting one. It needs care, acute research, and unlimited patience. The student is very apt to present false analogies, and thereupon plunge into a pit full of errors and disappointments. Our studies must be so plain that he who runs may read. They must be in accordance with Indian usages and customs. A single deviation from the line will develop errors which no logic of reasoning will bolster up in the light of critical investigation. There are very few who will take the pains to go to the fountain head, where these studies ought to begin, and trace out the story told.

As every Indian name was invariably descriptive of the object or subject to which it was applied, on that basis I shall endeavor to show that Roger Williams made no mistake; and that *auqúnnash* means "barnes," *necawnauquanash*, "old barnes." Mr. Ely in his anxiety to prove Roger Williams, or his printer, Gregory Dexter, to be in error, overlooks many important items bearing directly upon the points at issue. He says in his summary (p. 37), "1st. Considering that barns have no affinity to vegetables or to the fruits of the earth, any Indian word meaning barns, or old barns, may well be deemed out of place in chapter XVI. of Roger Williams Key." In direct contradiction of this statement, in that very chapter Roger Williams remarks, "Obs: The Indians have an art of drying their chestnuts, and so to *preserve them*

in their barnes for a daintie all the year." And again he says, "Obs: The women set or plant, weede, and hill and gather and *barne all the corne and Fruits of the Field.*" These two passages, together with one which I shall quote further on, proves that barns were collateral to this chapter, and "barnes" and "old barnes" were brought in at the end as a necessary sequence.

"2d. While the word barn, storehouse and garner are frequently used in scripture, there is not a place in Eliot's Bible where the word *au-qun-nash*, which in the 'Key' is defined 'barnes,' is used to describe either one or the other."

It was not necessary, for it would have been a misnomer. In Eliot's word for "barn," as in many other words used in his Bible, he simply endeavors to illustrate the Bible from the old world's standpoint to an Indian's mind and understanding, to whom all these things were previously a blank. Many examples of this fact can be quoted; therefore, *mee-chu-muk-o-muk*, "storehouse," simply refers to the white man's idea of a barn, and not to the aboriginal one. This is proven by Eliot's use of the word *barnash*, to impress the fact on the Indian's mind.

"3d. In Cotton's vocabulary the word *au-qun-nash* is not used to signify 'a barn.' On the contrary, Cotton gives a very different word for barn; viz., *me-chi-muk-o-muk.*" Cotton's father was a clergyman who preached to the Indians, and the same reasons apply as in the preceding paragraph.

"4th. Eliot also, in his Bible, uses the same word which Cotton uses, viz., *me-chi-muk-o-muk*, as meaning a barn and storehouse." A better division of this name would be *me-chi-mu-ko-muk*, and it is also answered under the second paragraph.

"5th. When on the theory that "barnes" and "old barnes" are misprinted for "beans" and "old beans," we examine Eliot's Bible, where beans are spoken of, we find the only Indian word he uses for beans is *tupp-uh-qua-mash*; and it has also been shown that in the Algonquian language this word means a high-twining bean, the prefix *tupp*, giving some indication of its character." There is absolutely no affinity between this word and that used by Roger Williams for barn,

providing Dr. Trumbull is correct in his interpretation, and I have no doubt he is. Eliot here, evidently, uses a word of his own coinage in order to describe the European plant, for an Indian never would have described a plant when its fruit was intended. The bean itself was the fruit separate and distinct from the plant; this fact is to be observed in the name of every fruit mentioned by Roger Williams. Besides, the American native bean was not a high-twining bean, but a low bush, which never grew to the height of a corn stalk, although planted among them for support as is still done to this day. Dr. Trumbull, no doubt, fully recognized the truth of this, although I have never seen his study. He evidently derives it from *tupp*,—the root of which is *appu*, "he sits," "remains," "abides;" hence, secondarily, "twines," or "clings;" *uhqua*, from *qunnuhqui*, "high;" giving us with its inanimate plural affix *tuppuhquamash*, "that which twines or clings high."

"6th. Eliot and Cotton both wrote at a later period, and when writing, either had or did not have before them Roger Williams' Key, which was published previous to either of their works. If they had it, why was not the clearly printed *au-qun-nash* used for barnes, instead of *me-chi-muk-o-muk*, and instead of the frequent Indianizing of the English word barns, as in *barns-ash*, etc.?" Because the Indian barn was an entirely different thing from the barn of the Bible.

"Why, too, did Eliot translate beans by *tupp-uh-qua-mash*, and not by *mon-as-qus-se-dash*, used in one instance by Roger Williams when speaking of cooked beans, but not at all in Chapter XVI. of the 'Key'?" This question has been partially answered under the fifth paragraph. *Monasqussêdash* was probably the only name by which the Indians called beans. This name corresponds to the Moh. *Mushquissedes*, Mass. *Monasquisseet*, Unkechaug, L. I., *Maiscussett*, Montauk *Mauqueseets*, "beans;" literally, "those that are much boiled." It must be remembered that either of these names indicated the article to an Indian's mind just as much as if he had said "beans." For it is not to be expected that an Indian could give the etymology of every word he used any more than we can give the derivation of every English appellation.

"If they did not have the 'Key,' by what chance did both translate barns so uniformly and constantly by *me-chi-muck-o-muck*, and not once by *au-qun-nash*, the word of Williams' 'Key'?" There was no chance about this, Cotton was familiar with Eliot's Bible, besides, his father assisted Eliot in his translations, and because, as I have previously remarked, *au-qun-nash* is the Indians' barn, separate and distinct in every particular from those of the settlers or that of the Biblical story.

Mr. Ely remarks (p. 35), "It is, however, a matter of regret that Dr. Trumbull did not in that connection, refer to the existence of the word *au-qun-nash* as a word in common use in the Narragansett language as recorded by Roger Williams." The reason is plain that Dr. Trumbull did not regard it as meaning "beans;" and that he undoubtedly believed Roger Williams to be right. Had it been otherwise he would have referred to it in his instructive notes accompanying the Narr. Club Edition of Roger William's Key, as well as in the other work referred to by Mr. Ely.

Mr. Ely has described the Indian barn from Wood's "New England Prospect," "which be great holes digged in the ground, in form of a brass pot, sealed with rinds of trees, wherein they put their corn." Another description is, "they were holes in the ground lined with the bark of trees, and covered with rushes or mats."

Au-qún-nash, "barnes," *ne-cawn-áu-qua-nash*, "old barnes." Mr. Ely did not undertake to study out the primal meaning of this name, which meaning clears away all of the uncertainty. The root *áuquan*, or *auqún*, means "to cover," or "to shelter;" as in the Massachusetts *uppúhquan*, "he covers it;" *uppúhquos*, "his covering;" *uppúhquonsinit*, "his tent;" literally, "his cloth shelter" (Exodus xxxvi. 19); also in *aúhaqut*, "mantle" (R. W's Key, Chap. xx.); *au-qún-nash*, "coverings," or "shelters;" *Necawn* (Eliot, *nukkon*), "old," "ancient," "passed by." This prefix, if there was nothing else, would prove the accuracy of Roger Williams' interpretation, for the reason, that it is never used, except to give the sense of being old in use, and therefore could not have been applied to beans, *necawn-áuquan-ash*, "old or ancient

coverings, or shelters." Roger Williams remarks in the same chapter about drying their corn, "Which they do carefully upon heaps and mats many dayes, before they *barne it up, covering it up with mats at night and open it when the sun is hot.*"

Mr. Ely remarks (p. 25), "But further, while as to barns there could have been little cause for distinction between old and new, the distinction between new beans and old beans is natural and material." This deduction does not follow. I doubt if the Indians would keep the old beans of a previous year's growth until the new crop had grown and been gathered. They were too improvident for that. To be sure, they might have done it in rare cases; but not enough to make it an object to be noted by Roger Williams. If they did, it was simply for seed, as in the last name of that chapter. Then it would have been given as "beans" and "new beans," and not "beans" and "old beans." There was cause, and a very strong cause, for distinction between "old" and "new barns," so much so, as to be noted in this instance by Roger Williams and by other settlers at this early period of New England history.

Old abandoned Indian barns were so numerous in the vicinity of the former homes of the Indian, as to make them a constant menace to the growing hamlets as long as they were in existence, on account of the cattle falling into them. They are frequently mentioned in the early records of Long Island and I have no doubt can be found referred to in other early records of the New England Colonies.

A year after the settlement of Southampton, L. I., we find the following order, dated: "Apr 6th 1641, Yt is ordered that any person whatsoever hath any Lott or Lotts upon Shinecock playne in the which there are any Indian *Barnes or Welles* lyeing open whereby cattle have or may take hurte or harme, the owners or overseers of such Lotts shall fill up all such *Barnes and Welles* by the tenth day of this month upon payne of payeing all such damage as arise by their neglect, and further answer for their contempt at next court." (Pub. Southampton Rec., Vol. I., p. 22.) These lots were on the spot where the first settlers found the tribe of Indians known

as the *Shinecocks.* Their name denotes "at the level country," and refers to the "playne." Frequently in the records these places formerly planted by the Indians are called "old ground," in distinction to localities broken up for cultivation by the whites called "new ground."

The two following orders from the published records of Easthampton, L. I. (Vol. I., pp. 302-3), give us alone corroborative evidence enough to show that Roger Williams did not make a mistake in writing "barnes:" "Dec 19th 1668., It is agreed upon by the inhabitants of this town of Easthampton and the Indians of Montaucut that for the future that the Indians yt live at Montaukut *shall fill up all their old barnes, and for the new ones they shall secure* them from danger of cattell or horses, *but if any barne* through want of knowledge shall escape filling or securing & any beast of ye English fall in, the Indians to doe the utmost they can to preserve the sd beast & they shall be well paid for their labour giveing timely notice thereof, but if any Indian hereafter *shall neglect wilfully to secure his barne & any* beast or horse shall perish thereby they that one [own] ye barn, shall pay double dammage." "Dec 21st 1668, It is agreed upon by the Inhabitants of this town of Easthampton & the Indians of Montaukut that for the future every man *shall secure his barne* att Montaukut from all dammage of cattell or horses, & that if any Indian shall neglect so to doe and any beast perish thereby, they shall make good the dammage *& what old barns are there wch have no particular owner* they shall shew them in convenient season yt so they may be filled up."

All of which is respectfully submitted to the Rhode Island Historical Society with the assurance that Roger Williams never wrote "barnes" for "beans."

NECROLOGY.

THOMAS POYNTON IVES GODDARD was born in Providence, R. I., August 14, 1827. He died in Providence, which had always remained his home, March 30, 1893. He was a son of William Giles and Charlotte Rhoda Goddard, being the third of seven children who lived to mature age; namely, Charlotte Hope (Binney), William, Thomas Poynton Ives, Elizabeth Anne (Shepard), Moses Brown Ives, Francis Wayland, and Robert Hale Ives. His father was a son of William Goddard, the first comptroller of the post office, and was, from 1825 to 1842, a professor in Brown University; for the first nine years, of moral philosophy and metaphysics, and afterwards, of rhetoric and belles-lettres; and was also an elegant and accomplished literary and political writer. On his mother's side the family was connected with the larger business interests of the city. His grandfather was Thomas Poynton Ives, junior partner in the great mercantile firm of Brown & Ives. His grandmother was a sister of Nicholas Brown, senior partner in that firm. In the next generation his uncles, Moses Brown Ives and Robert Hale Ives, together with John Carter Brown, a son of Nicholas, continued the firm and added to its wealth and fame. It thus happened that the best thought, in regard to both literature

and business, pervaded the atmosphere of his home and could not but impregnate his growing mind and character.

Mr. Goddard fitted for college at the University Grammar School, and in September, 1842, entered Brown University, and graduated from it in due course in 1846. He immediately entered upon what was to be his life work by service for many weeks with the Hope Company at the Hope Mill, where he aided in setting up and starting the new machinery for the mill, learning while he served. After further study of the theory and practice of cotton manufacturing at Lonsdale, he went to New York, where he was for several months with the house of Lawrence, Trimble & Co., acquainting himself with mercantile procedure and with the methods then prevalent for transacting the business to which he intended to devote himself. In March, 1848, he went abroad with his brother William, and spent nearly a year and a half in European travel. They returned in September, 1849; and April 1, 1850, formed a copartnership under the name of Goddard Brothers, the same day being appointed agents for the Lonsdale and Hope companies. The firm was subsequently enlarged by the successive accessions of Robert H. I. Goddard and Robert H. I. Gammell, and as thus enlarged continued unchanged until the death of Mr. Thomas Goddard, a period of forty-three years.

The Goddard Brothers, by virtue of their agency, had charge of an immense manufacturing business which greatly prospered and increased under their management. It is impossible for an outsider to know

how much was due to the partners severally for their joint success. Probably theirs was one of those fortunate partnerships in which each partner enhances his own faculty by working in concert with the other. It may be safely assumed, however, that the broad, sound judgment and imperturbable common sense of Mr. Thomas Goddard was of great avail. He had a mind which was singularly honest with itself. It did not permit itself to be blinded by prejudices or prepossessions, but, in determining a business question, looked the facts squarely in the face, and then with patient study and reflection drew its conclusions. He thus prepared himself to act energetically and without vacillation, and to inspire others with the confidence which he had himself. He was enterprising, yet conservative. He cherished the business traditions of his ancestors and regarded their unsullied reputation for honorable dealing as a most precious heritage, disdaining the profits which accrue from questionable practices or oppressive exactions.

Mr. Goddard, though very public spirited, neither held nor aspired to any political office. He performed, however, much valuable service of a quasi-public character, as director in railroad companies, banks, savings institutions and the like, and was, when he died, the president of the Boston & Providence Railroad Company. He was also specially interested in the educational and charitable institutions of the city. He gave to the Providence Athenæum ten thousand dollars as an income-producing fund for the purchase of books of permanent value. The gift was very characteristic of

the donor. He wanted it to go not for books that quickly perish and are forgotten, but for books that endure for the improvement of generations of readers. He was a member of the Board of Fellows of Brown University and gave to it generously in money and real estate. He contributed frequently to the Butler Hospital for the Insane. He was one of the founders of the Rhode Island Hospital, and at his death, he was the senior member of the board of trustees, and the only member who had served as such from the beginning. He gave to it largely during his lifetime, erecting the hospital for out-patients at his own cost, and left to it by will a bequest of $100,000, payable, subject to a life annuity of $2500, after the death of his widow. He was profuse in private giving. It has been well said of him that, "although his modest nature restricted his activities to the sphere of private station, the State and the city of his birth are higher in the scale of civilization, gentler in culture and more fully endowed for fostering a true manhood, by the fruits and the example of his noble life."

Mr. Goddard was in religion an Episcopalian. He worshipped at St. John's, where he served as one of the vestrymen. His benefactions to the Church were many and large He was a member of the standing committee of the Rhode Island Diocese, and in years past had been a delegate to the General Episcopal Convention. There was no sectarian narrowness in his nature. His mind and heart were open to good men of all persuasions. Socially, while rather reserved with strangers, he was exceedingly genial with his friends and ready to oblige

them. He had a very pleasant vein of wit and humor, and excelled in brilliancy and keenness of repartee. What has been said of his course of life depicts his character. By his fruits you can know him.

October 19, 1853, he married Ann Elizabeth, a daughter of William and Sarah (Burrill) Fearing, of New York, and a granddaughter of the eminent lawyer and United States senator, James Burrill of Rhode Island. His wife survives him. They have had no children.

Mr. Goddard became a life member of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1883. He contributed one thousand dollars to the fund for enlarging the cabinet.

HENRY TRUMAN BECKWITH, son of Truman Beckwith, was born in Providence, December 22, 1818. His life was mainly passed in Providence, where he died April 7, 1893. He used to value his birthday as the anniversary of the landing of the pilgrims at Plymouth, for as such it was always observed until 1850, when it was found that the twenty-first of December was the true date and he lost the honor. His father was a native of Lyme, Conn., the seat of the Beckwiths, as most of them in this country originated there, and was the son of Amos and Susan (Truman) Beckwith, who removed from thence to New Hampshire and afterwards to Vermont. Mr. Beckwith's mother was Alice, daughter of Isaac and Amey (Dexter) Brown, of Providence, a descendant of Chad Brown and of Gregory Dexter, two of the earliest ministers of the First Baptist Church in this city, and she was one of the best of women, a consistent, devoted member of that ancient church.

He attended first the school of Mrs. Elizabeth Bowen, commonly called "Marm Bowen," then the schools of Gustavus A. DeWitt, Peter P. Goode, Roswell C. and Asher Smith, and perhaps others. He also went in the summer of 1829 to Day's Academy, Wrentham, Mass., and in 1832, for six months, to Pawtuxet to the Rhode Island Classical, Agricultural and Mechanical School, as it was called, of which Rev. Asa Drury was principal. This school lasted two years, occupying what were formerly the fair building and grounds of the Society for the Encouragement of Domestic Industry, and was conducted on the salutary plan of requiring the pupils to labor a part of the time, either in the carpenter's shop or in the field or garden. Many Providence boys attended it and spent their Sundays at home, usually walking there and back, and it was quite a different walk then from what it is now, as four miles of open country then intervened between the two places. After a couple of years passed in college at Providence, Mr. Beckwith went, with and in the employ of the late Joseph Rogers of this place, to Macon, Ga., and subsequently to Mobile, for the purchase of cotton.

Having a love for the sea, he next made two voyages from Boston to Calcutta and back in the ship *Concordia*, as supercargo's clerk. The time on shipboard was profitably spent in reading, for the first time, many standard works in English and American literature, and while on shore the pleasure of witnessing foreign scenes was greatly enhanced by the fine climate of the winter season. When he was there the thermometer ranged from about 65° in the morning to 80 at midday, and the sky was usually very clear.

Returning to Boston from the first of these trips, when he had not heard of anything that had happened at home for five or six months, he found this community in the midst of the "Dorr War," the attack on the arsenal having occurred six days before. Yet he was not wholly surprised at it, from his recollections of some meetings in the old town-house the preceding year. Joining in this as a member of the Marine Artillery, he participated in the march from Providence to Chepachet in June, 1842.

After the voyages to Calcutta, he went to Macon again, with his brother Amos, for the purchase of cotton, and was for three years in the employ of Dr. Stephen Harris, cotton manufacturer. In 1849 he became his father's clerk, which position he had held once or twice before, and that position he held with brief interruptions until his father's death in 1878. He passed his summer vacation in 1867 in Europe.

Mr. Beckwith early took an active part in several societies. In the Franklin Lyceum, which he joined in 1837, he held at different times all the offices except those of librarian and treasurer. From 1866 (and with one exception from 1860) until his decease he was the senior member of it. He joined the Rhode Island Historical Society in October, 1849, and was secretary of that and treasurer of the Providence Athenæum for ten years at the same time, and did a great amount of work for them, besides discharging the duties of those offices. He united with the Franklin Society in 1846, and the Rhode Island Horticultural Society (more recently formed) in January, 1866, and remained

in all these until his death. He was a member of the Providence Horse Guards from 1846 until it disbanded in 1849, and from its revival in 1861 till 1871. His records as the secretary and as acting librarian of the Society for a long period are models of neatness and order. Slow in his movements, but loyal to his convictions as to what was manly and right, and he stood as a tower of strength where he enlisted.

On his father's death the responsibility of settling the estate in accordance with the will devolved on him. He performed his part well in life and his memory is honored by a good circle of friends.

A part of the above is an autobiographical sketch drawn up, nearly twenty years before his death, at the request of a friend.

DANIEL EUGENE DAY was born in Killingly, Conn., May 28, 1820, and died in Providence, April 27, 1893. He was of the seventh generation from Anthony Day, who was born in England in 1616, and is recorded in 1647 as settled with his wife in Gloucester, Mass.

His family line is as follows:—

1. Anthony Day, born 1616.
2. Nathaniel, son of Anthony, born 1665.
3. Benjamin, son of Nathaniel and Ruth, born 1691.
4. Jonathan, son of Benjamin and Margaret, born 1720.
5. Israel, son of Jonathan and Bertha, born 1753.
6. Harvey, son of Israel and Mary Wilson, born 1780.
7. Daniel Eugene, son of Harvey and Olive Dorrance, born 1820.

Mr. Day's father was a deacon, and his grandfather was for forty consecutive years the pastor of the South Killingly Congregational Church. His mother was a

descendant of Rev. Samuel Dorrance, the first pastor of the church in Sterling, now Voluntown, Conn.

Mr. Day's early opportunities for attending school were limited, as were those of many other sons of Connecticut who came to Providence half a century ago. He worked long and hard to enjoy the privileges of a brief winter school. Yet at the age of eighteen he began teaching school, and for eight successive winters he was regarded as a successful teacher. He enjoyed good social privileges and some of the advantages of the Fruit Hill Seminary, in North Providence, R. I.

At twenty-six years of age he entered the country store of Mr. W. C. Bacon, at Danielsonville, Conn., and when he was thirty-two years old (1852) he removed to Providence and established a grain and flour business at Peck's wharf, on Dyer street. During the same year he took into partnership with him Mr. S. S. Sprague (also from Connecticut), and the business was carried on under the firm name of Day & Sprague. In 1856 this firm was located at the corner of South Water and Crawford streets, and among the business names near by were those of Israel H. Day, Seth Adams and Rathbone & Gardner. At that time most of the grain and shipping business was done on South Water street.

In 1876 the firm of Day & Sprague was dissolved, and Mr. Day with his two sons, Henry G. and Charles R., continued the business under the firm name of Day, Sons & Co. While in business Mr. Day became widely known and was highly respected for the possession of those virtues and traits of character that constitute a good citizen, a good merchant and a worthy man.

In 1870 he became a director of the Commercial National Bank, and in 1885 he became the president, which office he held at the time of his death. He was associated in the management of the People's Savings Bank, and was a vice-president from 1888 until, in consequence of failing health, he tendered his resignation.

Mr. Day's interest in good government was pronounced. During six years he served as a representative in the General Assembly, and during five of those years he was the chairman of the finance committee.

He was five years a member of the City Council. Serving as one of the joint standing committee on finance, he labored much to secure proper legislation in connection with the introduction of water and sewers for the city.

He was one of the original commissioners of the sinking fund of the city of Providence, and that position he continuously held till the time of his death.

He was a member and a deacon of the Union Congregational Church, succeeding in the latter position the late Theophilus Salisbury.

In social life Mr. Day's genial and hospitable disposition was manifest. The death of his beloved wife in 1886 was the dark shadow of his life.

He married, in 1844, Lydia Wilbur, of Raynham, Mass., who died in 1886, leaving four children: Sarah Adelaide Eames, now of Buffalo, Henry G., Charles R. and Olive Dorrance, all of Providence.

Mr. Day became a member of this Society in 1874. Though unable to attend many of its meetings, he manifested a high appreciation of its character and usefulness.

DANIEL GORDON CAMPBELL was born in Voluntown, Conn., October 23, 1816, and died in Providence, R. I., July 8, 1893. He was the son of Winthrop and Susan Dorrance (Gordon) Campbell, and the grandson of John Campbell, who took part as a soldier in the Revolutionary war. His father was a farmer and his son thus had the benefit of an open country where he acquired physical strength and habits of industry and economy that were favorable to his success in after life. He had the advantages of a district school and of some instruction from the clergyman of his town. After a brief experience as a teacher, he began his business education with his elder brother in the store of Rowse Babcock, in Westerly, R. I., where he remained two years. For several years thereafter, he was in the employ of Isaac and Rowland G. Hazard, of Peacedale, R. I. In 1848, he went to the city of New York and was engaged in the dry goods commission business until 1865, when he came to Providence and became a member of the firm of J. P. Campbell & Co., in the manufacture of woolen goods. From that time till his death, Mr. Campbell resided in Providence and was engaged in various manufacturing enterprises. Though he was a manufacturer, success in that line of business was not his highest ambition. He read good books. He enjoyed good company. He was sociable and companionable, taking pleasure in promoting the happiness and comfort of those about him. It was apparent to those who knew him well that he was more ambitious to be a manly man than a successful manufacturer. He was deeply interested in religious subjects and was a life-

long member of a Christian church. He thus acquired a high standard of thought and action. Never married, he lived with his sisters, and he had a warm affection for relatives and friends that will cause his memory to be sincerely cherished. He became a member of this Society in 1880, and from that time forth attended many of its meetings and manifested much interest in its usefulness and prosperity.

CHARLES ELISHA TILLINGHAST was born in Providence, July 10, 1812, and died in Wickford, July 27, 1893, at the home of one of his daughters, while making her a brief visit. He belonged to one of the historic families of the State, tracing with just pride his family line back to Elder Pardon Tillinghast, one of the early pastors of the First Baptist Church, of Providence. His home was always on his native soil. He saw Providence change from a town of 11,000 inhabitants to a city of 140,000. He could trace the various changes as they occurred, and could readily recite to his friends what he had witnessed seventy years before.

After receiving the advantages of the common schools of the place, he began his business career in the employ of Moses Potter, in a crockery store on North Main street. Subsequently, he became associated with Pratt & Elliott, and for many years the new firm of Pratt, Elliott & Tillinghast carried on an extensive business in crockery and glass ware, both wholesale and retail, at the store No. 79 Westminster street. Finally he purchased the interests of his partners and carried on the business alone. He retired

[illegible] war, when [illegible]

[illegible] daughter by [illegible] by his sec-

[illegible] served at the [illegible] a member of [illegible] During the later [illegible] interested in genea- [illegible] branches of his [illegible] from his [illegible] whose [illegible] being a worthy [illegible] Church. He [illegible] and left here [illegible] interest.

[illegible] died at his [illegible] 1863, was [illegible] — the only [illegible] Par- [illegible] Dr. Abiel [illegible] sister of Dr. [illegible] much of [illegible] the death of his [illegible]

[illegible] was thirteen [illegible] the youngest [illegible] began the study of [illegible] Providence; afterwards [illegible] New York, Philadelphia and

Paris, where he passed two years. In 1845 he took the degree of M. D. at the Harvard Medical School, received the honorary degree of M. D. from Brown University in 1848, and in that year he commenced practice with his father at their office on President, now Waterman street, the present site of the Rhode Island School of Design.

Always interested in the charitable and literary institutions of his native town, and always concerned in its welfare, Dr. Parsons lost no opportunity to exert his influence for beneficial results. His first public service and his only military experience was in 1842, when he, with his father, accompanied the Light Infantry on their march to Federal Hill, where Dorr's adherents had made a stand. In 1846 he joined the Rhode Island Medical Society, and was its president from 1860 to 1862. He read a number of carefully prepared papers before the Society, and was the author of several annual reports on the registration of births, marriages and deaths in the State; also of a valuable "Report on the Medical Topography and Epidemics of Rhode Island." In 1867 he was appointed one of the four attending physicians of the Rhode Island Hospital, where his service of seven years thoroughly interested him in its noble work.

His first official connection with Brown University was in 1865, when he began a course of lectures on physiology, which continued for six years; and in 1874, when he retired from the active practice of medicine, he was appointed professor of physiology, a chair which he filled until the summer of 1882, when failing health compelled him to resign.

At the time of his death, Dr. Parsons was senior member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, which he joined in 1847, and to him the Society has been indebted for much time and thought devoted to its welfare and for many excellent papers, usually prepared from original sources, to be read at its meetings. For many years he was chairman of the library committee and vice-president; and in 1889 he was elected president, but he declined to act in that capacity, owing to increasing physical infirmity. Deeply impressed with the importance of this Society as a means of education and incentive to good citizenship in our community, he was eager to increase its usefulness; and by his will he made bequest of four thousand dollars to be applied to its use.

As a director in the Providence Athenæum, as a manager of the Providence Dispensary and a trustee of the Fiske Fund, his attention was cheerfully and punctually rendered, the faithful service being its own reward.

Taking up an arduous profession very early in life, Dr. Parsons brought to its duties the results of most careful training, together with the deepest sense of responsibility, and so endeared himself to those with whom he came into the most intimate relations, that his memory will be cherished while memory shall endure. His delicate intellectual organization, his quick perception and appreciation of the beautiful in literature and art, his ready wit and keen sense of humor, rendered him a delightful companion and added much to his success as a skilled physician.

As remarked by one who knew him well, "Dr. Parsons was a good man, and to the social, intellectual and religious life of Providence his death must necessarily be a serious loss. Memories of his kindness, wit, good judgment and unfailing courtesy will always be cherished, and he lives again in the affection and cordial esteem of friends and associates. His conversation was a stimulus to good and high thinking, and his life was very useful and beneficent in all directions."

With marked intellectual traits inherited from a long line of educated ancestors, and developed by many opportunities of special culture, it could be no surprise that Dr. Parsons should find companionship with the best writers of all ages an unfailing resource and relief in many otherwise weary hours. Carefully discriminating in his choice of reading, to the very last, he preferred the classics; and the New Testament, and Homer in Greek, Virgil in Latin, Dante in Italian and Moliere in French were constantly in his hands, continually affording new enjoyment, though not to the exclusion of the best modern authors, with whom he kept even pace. With a decided preference for the poems of his uncle, Dr. Holmes, from which he gave many an apt quotation, he had a familiar acquaintance with the English classics, which were not unfrequently recalled in the conversation by his cheerful fireside.

In 1853 Dr. Parsons married Mary Hallowell, daughter of John Lane Boylston, of Princeton, Mass., who died December 31, 1887, leaving no children.

[illegible] Providence [illegible] applicant [illegible] Pawtucket [illegible] His [illegible] Miss, and [illegible] were en- [illegible] At [illegible] Sons to [illegible] them three [illegible] to [illegible] this city [illegible] of [illegible] prospect [illegible] where [illegible] one [illegible] for [illegible] short [illegible] R. [illegible] he re- [illegible] of their [illegible] with them. [illegible] Sharpe Mfg. [illegible] of [illegible] to examine [illegible] in machin- [illegible] work which more [illegible] tastes and [illegible] Sharpe, he devoted his even-

ings to the study of mechanics and mechanical drawing, and soon acquired a proficiency which enabled him to meet the wants of his employers in this class of work.

In 1858 he entered into partnership with Isaac Brownell in the manufacture of light machinery, but bought out his partner's interest in 1859, and in 1860 moved into larger quarters, and added materially to the productive capacity of his plant.

The Civil War, which began in 1861, created an enormous demand on the part of the Government for all classes of warlike material and for machinery used in their manufacture, and Mr. Nicholson early turned his attention to the making of machines for producing the small arms required by the Government.

In addition to carrying on his machine shop, we find him associated with the late Henry A. Monroe in the manufacture of the small parts of rifles, having devised special machinery for that purpose. In the spring of 1864 he sold this branch of his business to his partner.

He was thus enabled to give more of his attention to his machine shop, and to developing an idea which had for some time occupied his mind,— the cutting of files by machinery.

The successful completion of a machine for this purpose soon followed, and the organization of the Nicholson File Co. was the result.

How great a task he had undertaken was not then fully realized by himself, or those associated with him. The mechanical burden rested on his shoulders, and when we reflect that if files could be *cut by machinery*, it was necessary that machinery should be devised for

the other operations in making a file, we shall have, even then, only a partial conception of the magnitude of the undertaking which his successful cutting machine had brought upon him.

After months of hard labor, and many anxious periods when the combination of mechanical and financial problems almost overcame even his indomitable will, the successful establishment of a plant for the manufacture of files by machinery was an accomplished fact.

Again, success was but the forerunner of another task which taxed his energy and perseverance, in as great measure as his mechanical labors had done.

Now that machine-cut files could be made, it was necessary that they should be sold; and rarely, if ever, has the successful marketing of any tool been accomplished against greater prejudice and a fiercer opposition. But still the story is one of success achieved, and the stock of the Company afterward became a profitable investment, and to-day it is the largest and best-equipped establishment of its kind in existence.

The entire control of every department connected with the business soon passed into his hands, and though trained to mechanical pursuits alone, he proved himself equal to the new duties he had assumed, and showed that a good mechanic could also be a good financial and business man and a good executive officer in every way.

We have said that Mr. Nicholson delighted in a nice and exact piece of mechanical work; it was natural that he should do so, for exactness and thoroughness

were traits of his character to a marked degree, and furnished the basis upon which his success in whatever he undertook rested.

To these traits he added an innate love of work, and an energy and perseverance, which even his success and advancing years, seemed hardly to diminish, and thus we find him laboring with as much devotion as ever in the week before his death, to promote the interests of the corporation, whose faithful servant he had ever been. Mr. Nicholson had served the city as an alderman, had been an active member of the old Mechanics Association, a trustee of the Providence Public Library from its organization, and for several years its treasurer, a director in the Rhode Island National Bank, an active member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, and of some other organizations.

He leaves a widow, two sons and two daughters, having lost his youngest son, Col. William T. Nicholson, Jr., a few years ago.

CHARLES HARRIS FISHER was born in Killingly, Connecticut, June 30, 1822, and died October 21, 1893, in Buffalo, New York, where he had paused on account of severe illness on his way home from a health congress in Chicago. His ancestors are well known in the annals of our country. He was the son of George Clinton and Harriet (Cady) Fisher, and the grandson of Barzillai, who took an active part in the war of 1812. His great-grandfather, Barzillai Fisher, and five sons, were prominent in the Revolutionary war. Losing his father when only eight years of age, his early school

privileges were very limited. He, however, made up for this disadvantage by acquiring habits of self-reliance and earnest effort, that enabled him to attain eminence in some scientific pursuits and a respectable standing as a classical scholar. He studied medicine with Dr. Hammond, of Connecticut, and Professor Post, M. D., LL. D., of New York. He was a student in the hospital and University of the City of New York, as well as at Dartmouth Medical College, where he received the degree of M. D. He afterward attended lectures at the medical school of Harvard University. He then settled in Scituate, Rhode Island, where he engaged in general practice, and was for several years principal consulting physician.

He served the Rhode Island Medical Society for a number of years as censor, vice-president and president, and represented the Society before the American Medical Association.

Few men in our State have held as many offices of trust and responsibility. He has been State senator, town superintendent of public schools, trustee of the State Normal School, president of two banks, and was one of the presidential electors in 1876. During the war of the Rebellion he was medical examiner.

In 1878, upon the establishment of the State Board of Health, he was chosen secretary, and held that office till the time of his death. In 1880 he removed to Providence. From that time his office became a place for consultation and counsel in regard to various charitable and reformatory institutions. He visited every town in the State in the interest of the Board of

Health. His annual reports and monthly bulletins were most carefully prepared. He was highly esteemed at home and abroad as a medical statistician, as is proved by the fact that several of his reports were translated into other languages.

He was married February 22, 1849, to Sophia R. Smith, who passed away before him. He had four children, three of whom survive him. He became a member of the Rhode Island Historical Society in 1878. He was soon appointed procurator for Scituate. He read two papers before the Society and collected a good number of valuable manuscripts.

WILLIAM KNIGHT was born in Providence, July 27, 1828, and died there October 22, 1893. He belonged to a family most favorably known in the annals of the city and the State. He was the son of Thomas and Betsey (Fenner) Knight. Early deprived of a mother's care, he spent several years with relatives in the country. Having to depend on his own efforts, his school privileges were limited to the old Summer-Street Grammar School, which was where the public High School is now situated. He acquired his earliest training for a business career in the Merchants National Bank. His first official position was as cashier in the Butchers and Drovers Bank. While discharging the duties of that post, he was elected treasurer of the Mechanics Savings Bank, which position he maintained with honor and success for nearly twenty-six years. During that period weighty responsibilities devolved on him. His judgment and integrity stood the test to which they were

subjected. He discharged his duties in a way to reflect credit on the institution in whose service he had enlisted.

Mr. Knight was married first to Miss Emeline, daughter of Benjamin Wood, by whom he had three daughters, two of whom survive him. After her death he was married to Mrs. (widow) Sarah C. H. Day, who survives him.

His usefulness as a man extended far outside his business career into spheres of active beneficence, where his chosen companions cordially coöperated with him. He was from early life to the close a consistent member of a Christian church. He became a member of this Society in 1890, and manifested interest in its usefulness and prosperity.

ESTHER BERNON CARPENTER. This accomplished scholar was born at Wakefield, April 4, 1848, and died there October 22, 1893. She was the daughter of the Rev. James Helm Carpenter and Mary (Hazard) Carpenter. Descended from Esther Powell, the daughter of Gabriel Bernon, and his Huguenot wife, Esther Le Roy, her lineage gave bent to her mind, affected her imagination and colored her whole development and culture. The memorials cherished for some two centuries,—the "psalter of the version of Marot, given him " (Bernon) by a fellow-prisoner," the embroidery with its hanging, unsewn threads, snatched up in the flight from La Rochelle,—these sacred mementos of high purpose and of lives of sacrifice, profoundly affected an eager child coming forward in the confined and some-

what prosaic life of New England in the middle of our century. The old Willett homestead in Narragansett was a fitting cradle for these influences. In her own words, "the gray old walls of the familiar homesteads, "fast crumbling under the touch of time, plead for a "longer continuance in our kind recollections. When "I last looked upon the ancient house which had been "the dwelling of five generations, I fancied that a cloud "of shadowy forms gathered dark in the pale winter "Sunshine, while their faint voices panted, 'Give us "back our home!'"

All artists had not the power of Hawthorne, but many have been impelled by the same mystic force that drove that sombre genius into penetrating the mysteries of the old New-England life. In a sketch of her own childhood Miss Carpenter said: "No one ever told "me that the darkness was peopled by all the gloomy "shapes which thronged my imagination when I "thought of that fearful place, the dark garret (the "light one was a cheerful apartment), approached by a "winding stairway, which I actually never had the "courage to mount. * * * A child brought up "under the protecting care of the earlier faiths would "have invoked the saints and slept in peace. But in "me the religious sentiment was not highly developed, "and I had breathed only the rarefied atmosphere of "a chill Protestantism. Yet some vague impulse "taught me to exorcise the ugly phantoms of my imag-"ination by calling upon the greatest necromancers in "the realm of the unseen. In my dim intellect-wor-"ship, I sought to calm my fears by repeating the "sacred names of Shakespeare and Milton."

The outward story of such a life is meagre in events, and not unlike the experience of thousands of women of "Brahmin stock" in New England, whose daily work is constant duty. She attended school at Burlington, New Jersey, and at Mrs. Buel's, in Providence. She left school at the age of thirteen, and her father taught her quite as much as the teachers did. She became a member of a society centred at Boston for study at home, and the kindness of Oliver Wendell Holmes and other scholars influenced her studies. She studied much alone and worked out matters for herself. She read and wrote French, Spanish, German, and had some knowledge of the Italian language. She was confirmed in the Protestant Episcopal Church at Wickford when she was thirteen, and worked earnestly in the church.

Miss Carpenter became a member of this Society in 1890, and her admirable discourse on the "Huguenot Influence in Rhode Island," having been read in our course of lectures, was printed in the Proceedings, 1885–86. She delivered a lecture on "John Saffin: his Book," before our Society, also at Newport and in other places. She wrote on several occasions verses and short poems. These were conceived with great delicacy and set forth with fine imagery in words well discriminated, but the natural avenue for the expression of her thought was in prose.

Esther Bernon Carpenter's place in literature will be assured by loyal work in one of the by-paths of history, which she made her own. One of the most racy corners of New England is the South County of Rhode

Island, or the Narragansett country. About the time Gabriel Bernon and his Huguenot friends emigrated to America, this district was being settled chiefly by English and Welsh immigrants. Bernon lived at Newport, at Kingston, and for two periods at Providence. The characteristics of Narragansett were drawn from old England, and deeply rooted in the social soil, which was slightly affected by the Indians on one side, and the Negroes on the other. The result was a stock of people strongly marked and perpetuating their features generation after generation. They had an old English dialect, modified by the circumstances of the place. Our associate sketched and made elaborate studies of these people,—their peculiar ways and manners, the social atmosphere in which they dwelt,—especially in the humbler families. These papers, printed in the *Providence Journal*, attracted attention immediately, by their essential truthfulness and strong local flavor. They were afterwards published by Roberts Brothers, in a volume entitled, "South-County Neighbors." They show dramatic force and much literary skill. The author worked over her material—warm and glowing under her hand—with a zest and a forceful enthusiasm that knew no limits. The Calvinism of rude districts and of revivals found little sympathy in the mind of the serious Huguenot churchwoman. But she rises into genuine eloquence in describing a thunder-storm at the "Evening Meeting at Uncle Sias's" when "suddenly "at this crisis of awe, the mood of the people passed at "once from the ecstasy of fear to the ecstasy of devo- "tion; a change effected by the sign and voice of one

" among them who now assumed the place of a leader."

And the prophet revealed real visions when he described his idea of heaven, and " thought that every " drop of light and love that God bestows is to be re- " turned to Him again."

Every Calvinistic community carried within it a certain number of latent rationalists, and of these Sally was the type. "Why, they'm all coming back to reign " a thousand years." " Shall we be here then, Sally?" " Land o' cakes! yes, child. We'm the wicked, 'n' the " wicked has all got to be burnt up, you know; 'n' we " shall be ashes under the soles of the feet of the " righteous in them days — by their tell. I d'n know's " I know."

And our author's catholic spirit breathes forth in, " Poor dear Sally, how good you were, in your way, and " what an unlovely way it was! but the last word " spoken of you shall be the frank confession that your " young companion of those days would have done well " if she had studied the example afforded by the rude " strength of a nature that was generous in deeds of " diligent service."

The present writer has known at least a half-dozen individuals whose vigorous personality would have made a clear study for Sally.

Another sort of pungent criticism is expressed in, " I never see no sèch do-little coot ez that Jim Fones. " He aint what I call work-brittle." And the gentle malice of the female friend prompts Mis' Tift, when, after years of absence, her salutation is, " Why, Nabby, " heow you'm broke!" Any South-County man could

fill these pages with similar racy sayings, as when one said, "Women! why, Sonny, them's she-critters, and " them's allays balky."

It is melancholy, that a scholar so gifted and trained to solid work, goes out in middle life in the full tide of her strong personality. She had the impulse of an artist, and in zealous fervor looked forward to bringing out her own highest capacity. Perhaps the fire burned too fiercely at the centre and consumed this intense spirit too rapidly, before the allotted span of human life could run its fair course. This Society may well commemorate one who spent her powers and did such loyal service in illustrating and preserving the sources of the history of Rhode Island.

ALFRED HENRY LITTLEFIELD was born in Scituate, Rhode Island, April 2, 1829. He died in Lincoln, R. I., December 21, 1893. He was the son of John and Deborah (Himes) Littlefield, and was descended from that Edmund Littlefield who came from England to Boston in 1637. His ancestors settled on Block Island in the early part of the last century, but were forced to flee for shelter to the mainland during the stormy years of the Revolution. Mr. Littlefield was educated for the most part in the public schools of Natick. His business career began in 1845, when he became a clerk in the dry goods store of Joseph M. Davis, at Central Falls. In 1851 he became one of the firm of Littlefield Brothers, the firm to whose business, in June, 1889, the Littlefield Manufacturing Company succeeded. As a business man he was always trustworthy, and conse-

quently for the most part successful. With many of the corporations of Pawtucket he was intimately connected, being president of the Littlefield Manufacturing Company, a director (from its organization) of the Pawtucket Hair Cloth Company, and also a director in several banks.

In politics he was a Republican, his first public service being as a member of the Town Council of Lincoln, in 1873. In 1876 he was sent to represent the town in the General Assembly, and in 1878 he was elected a member of the Senate from Lincoln. In March, 1880, being still a senator, he was made the Republican nominee for governor. There was no choice by the people, but the Assembly elected him by a large majority. For the next two years he was reëlected by the people, after which time he refused again to become a candidate for public office.

February 9, 1853, he married Rebecca J. Northup, of Central Falls. Two sons survive him.

He was a quiet man, firm in convictions, honest of purpose. His firmness was well illustrated by the position he took respecting the entertainment of the French officers, who came to this State after the centennial celebration at Yorktown. As governor he notified the entertainment committee beforehand that he would not approve any wine bills the committee might contract. He believed in prohibition, and by this manly stand he disarmed those whose views were not like his own, and induced them to carry out his wishes. We need just such honesty of purpose in our public men.

Governor Littlefield became a member of this Society in 1881. Though residing at a distance, he attended many of its meetings and did much by word and example to promote its interests.

WILLIAM STAPLES was born in Providence, February 11, 1834, and died there January 20, 1894. He was the son of the Hon. William Read (LL. D.) and Evelina (Eaton) Staples. He was educated in the public schools of Providence. He inherited the historical tastes of his father, who was one of the founders of this Society, and for many years one of its most efficient officers. He early became a communicant of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and was, to the close of life, a member of either St. John's or St. Paul's Church. In the latter Church he served as a warden, and was occasionally a delegate to diocesan conventions. He was of a kindly nature and had a wide circle of friends who appreciated his virtues and now cherish his memory. He became a member of this Society in 1869, and was, for many years, a member of one of its standing committees. About a year previous to his death he had a severe attack of pneumonia, from which he but partially recovered. The thread of life was finally severed without any apparent suffering or regret on his part.

HORATIO GATES JONES, an honorary member of the Rhode Island Historical Society, elected in 1858, was born in Roxborough, Philadelphia, January 19, 1822, and died March 14, 1893. He was the son of an emi-

nent Baptist minister of the same name in full. His grandfather, the Rev. David Jones, also a distinguished minister of the Baptist denomination, is, from an historical point of view, worthy of special mention. In April, 1775, he became pastor of the Great Valley Church, Chester Co., Pa. The Continential Congress having recommended a day of fasting and prayer, he preached a sermon before Col. Dewee's regiment, entitled, "Defensive War in a Just Cause Sinless," which was printed and extensively circulated. We are told that he took high ground, even at that early day, in favor of independence. In 1776 he was appointed a chaplain in Col. St. Clair's regiment, and was at Ticonderoga, where, just before battle, he delivered a patriotic address, which roused the courage of the soldiers to a high degree. Subsequently he served under Gen. Horatio Gates and Gen. Wayne, and was in many battles, and always proved himself to be a wise counsellor and a devoted patriot. While the army was at Valley Forge, he frequently showed his devotion to the cause, and was highly trusted by Washington. He continued in the army until the capitulation at Yorktown. His patriotic services did not end with the Revolution. When the war of 1812 broke out, although seventy-six years of age, he again volunteered his services, and was appointed chaplain and served until peace was declared. An evidence of the great respect and esteem in which he was held is shown in the honor which was conferred upon him in 1774, by Brown University, which gave him the title of Master of Arts.

The subject of this sketch graduated at the University of Pennsylvania in 1841, and was admitted to the Philadelphia bar in May, 1847. His tastes for historical research were developed in early life, and his love for studies of an historical character became almost a passion. He was chosen a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1848, and in the following year was elected its secretary, and held that office for eighteen years. In 1867 he was chosen one of its vice-presidents. In 1865 he was elected one of the directors of Girard College. In 1874 he was elected to the State Senate from Philadelphia, and reëlected in 1876 and 1878. While in the Senate he showed himself to be the advocate of the "soul liberty" which was the special birthright of Rhode Island. He did all in his power to secure freedom from the penalties of the Sunday law of April 22, 1794, for all persons who observed the seventh day as the Sabbath. As has been observed, "Mr. Jones cherished an enthusiastic love for soul liberty; he understood the subject thoroughly, his efforts in its behalf having been well planned and valiant. He might justly have been called the American champion of religious liberty."

Among the many societies to which Mr. Jones was elected may be mentioned such historical societies as those of Rhode Island, New York, Delaware, Wisconsin, Minnesota and Florida. Also the Moravian Historical Society, the New England Historic-Genealogical Society and the American Antiquarian Society. In 1877 he was chosen an Honorary Fellow of the

Royal Historical Society of Great Britain. Brown University conferred upon him, in 1863, the honorary degree of Master of Arts, and in 1880 he received from a literary institution in Arkansas the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Law.

For Rhode Island and its institutions he cherished an abiding interest. By marriage he was connected with one of its prominent familes, "The Mauran Family," his wife, Caroline V. Babcock, eldest daughter of the Rev. Dr. Rufus Babcock, being a great-granddaughter of Joseph Charles Mauran, the founder in America of the family. He showed a practical regard for the Rhode Island Historical Society in the valuable gifts he made to its library, especially when he was a member of the Pennsylvania Senate. It gives us pleasure to record the virtues and worth of one who conferred as much honor upon the Society as he received from it, when he was elected into its membership. His memory will ever be cherished with sincere satisfaction.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR., LL.D., was born in Savannah, Ga., October 28, 1831, and died at Montrose, near Augusta, Ga., July 19, 1893. He was a leading member of the South Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, and was president of the Confederate Survivors' Association, whose annual reunions were always attended by the officers of the United States Arsenal. Dr. Jones was one of the most prolific and accomplished authors Georgia has produced.

His antiquities of the "Southern Indians," and "His-

tory of Georgia" are among his memorable works. Dr. Jones was elected a corresponding member of this Society in 1872, and the shelves of this library attest his interest in the objects for which this institution was founded and is sustained.

JOHN CHESTER BUTTRÉ was born in Auburn, N. Y., June 10, 1821, and died at Ridgewood, N. J., December 2, 1893. He was the son of William Buttré, born in Perthshire, Scotland, August 9, 1782, died in New York City, October 2, 1864; and Mary Ann (Lothrop) Buttré, born in Fairfield, Herkimer Co., N. Y., April 2, 1800, died in Ridgewood, N. J., May 7, 1882.

Mr. Buttré was one of the oldest and most widely known of the publishers, engravers, and plate-printers in America. He commenced business in Auburn in 1838, and removed to New York in 1841, being of late years at 32 Cortlandt street. He published the "American Portrait Gallery," of which there have been several editions issued. His daughter, Miss Lillian C. Buttré, assisted him in the work. The work was given to this Society as it was issued from the press, and appears now in three volumes. The biographical sketches are cleverly told, and therefore possess an abiding interest. He was a general engraver and plate-printer, and for many years has made a specialty of engraving fine portraits on steel, several being of Rhode Islanders.

The old diploma plate, engraved on copper, by J. J. LeVeau, of Paris (France), for the Society of the Cincinnati, in 1783–1784, was found to be very badly corroded in May, 1888, and Mr. Buttré, from motives of

patriotism (his father having been an officer in the war of 1812–1814), devoted many days to its restoration, thereby meriting the thanks of the General Society of the Cincinnati, at its triennial meeting in 1890.

Mr. Buttré was a corresponding member of the New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, as also of the Rhode Island Historical Society since 1880.

INSTITUTIONS, CORPORATIONS, AND COPARTNERSHIPS FROM WHICH GIFTS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED.

American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
American Catholic Historical Society, Philadelphia.
American Congregational Association, Boston.
American Historical Association.
American Numismatic and Archæological Society, N. Y.
American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.
Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.
Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass.
Baltimore Public Library, Baltimore, Md.
Bostonian Society, Boston.
Boston Public Library.
Boston Record Commission.
Brooklyn Library, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Brooklyn Society of Old Brooklynites, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Brown University, Providence.
Buffalo Historical Society, Buffalo, N. Y.
California University, Berkeley, Cal.
Canadian Institute, Toronto, Canada.
Cayuga County Historical Society, Auburn, N. Y.
Chicago Board of Trade, Chicago, Ill.
Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.
Coombs, H. M. & Co., Providence.
Dedham Historical Society, Dedham, Mass.
Denmark Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Dominion Land Surveyors' Association, Ottawa, Canada.
Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.
Freeman, E. L. & Son, Providence.
Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga.
Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
Home for Aged Men, Providence.
Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis, Ind.
Iowa Geological Survey, Des Moines, Iowa.
Iowa State Historical Society, Iowa City, Iowa.
Irrepressible Society, Providence.
Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas.
Langworthy Public Library, Hope Valley, R. I.
Laval University, Quebec, Canada.
League Roads Improvement Bureau, Boston.
Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Longmeadow Centennial Committee, Longmeadow, Mass.
Maine Historical Society, Portland, Me.
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Md.
Massachusetts Board Railroad Commissioners, Boston.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
Massachusetts State Library, Boston.
Mercantile Library Association, San Francisco, Cal.
Michigan State Library, Lansing, Mich.
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minn.
Missouri Medical Association, Kansas City, Mo.
Montana Historical Society, Helena, Montana.
Nebraska State Historical Society, Lincoln, Neb.
New England Historic-Genealogical Society, Boston.
New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N.J.
New London Historical Society, New London, Conn.
New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, N. Y.
New York Mercantile Library Association, N. Y.
New York Meteorological Observatory, N.Y.
New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.
North Carolina State Library, Raleigh, N. C.
Norwegian University, Kristiania, Norway.
Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society, Cincinnati, Ohio.
Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Columbus, Ohio.
Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, Ill.

[illegible]

Society of the Sons of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C.

Southern California Historical Society, Los Angeles, Cal.

Tennessee State Library & Archives, Nashville, Tenn.

Tufts College, College Hill, Mass.

United States Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C.

United States Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C.

United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

United States Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C.

United States Department of State, Washington, D. C.

United States Department of War, Washington, D. C.

United States Geological Survey, Washington, D. C.

United States Naval Observatory, Washington, D. C.

United States Treasury Department, Washington, D. C.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

University of the State of New York, Albany, N. Y.

University of Vermont, Burlington, Vt.

Virginia Historical Society, Morrisville, Va.

Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, Va.

Washington Historical Society, Watertown, Mass.

Westchester County Historical Society, White Plains, N. Y.

Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland, O.

Wistar Institute, Philadelphia.

Worcester Society of Antiquity, Worcester, Mass.

Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Young Men's Christian Association, New York City.

PERSONS FROM WHOM GIFTS HAVE BEEN RECEIVED.

Alden, Mrs. Charles L., Troy, N. Y.
Aldrich, Nelson W., Providence.
Allen, Edwin R., Hopkinton, R. I.
Andrews, Byron A., Slatersville, R. I.
Andrews, Rev. E. B., Providence.
Arnold, Benjamin H., Lonsdale, R. I.
Arnold, Edward B., Lonsdale, R. I.
Arnold, Stephen H., Providence.
Austin, John O., Providence.
Bailey, Joseph Trowbridge, Philadelphia.
Barrows, Miss Hepsa Blake, Providence.
Bartlett, Thomas Edward, New Haven, Conn.
Beckwith, Miss Abby G., Providence.
Bennett, Charles P., Providence.
Bennett, Herbert F., Bristol, R. I.
Birdson, James C., Raleigh, N. C.
Bishop, Cortland F., New York.
Bowen, Clarence Winthrop, New York.
Bowen, William M. P., Providence.
Bradlee, Caleb Davis, Boston.
Briggs, Osmond H., Pawtucket, R. I.
Brown, Mrs. Isaac, Providence.
Burnham, George H., Providence.
Burroughs, Frank M., Providence.
Carnegie, Andrew, N. Y.
Carpenter, George M., Providence.
Chace, Elizabeth Buffum, Valley Falls, R. I.
Chace, Lewis Jenkins, Providence.
Chapin, William W., Providence.
Chase, Philip S., Providence.
Childs, George W., Philadelphia.
Clark, Franklin C., Providence.
Clark, Rt. Rev. Thomas M., Providence.
Clarke, Samuel C., Marietta, Ga.
Cobb, J. S. G., Providence.
Coggeshall, Mrs. James H., Providence.
Conant, Hezekiah, Pawtucket, R. I.
Congdon, Edward, Providence.
Cranston, James E., Providence.
Cressy, Mrs. O. S., Providence.
Curtis, Chester B., New Castle, N. H.
Dailey, Miss Charlotte Field, Providence.
Danforth, Charles, Providence.
Darling, Gen. Charles W., Utica, N. Y.
Darling, M. V. B., Providence.
DePeyster, J. Watts, Tivoli, Duchess Co., N. Y.
Doggett, Samuel B., Boston.
Draper, Daniel, Ph. D., New York.
Drowne, Henry T., New York.
Drowne, Rev. T. Stafford, Flatbush, N. Y.
Dyer, Charles Sowle, Providence.
Dyer, Gen. Elisha, Providence.
Eaton, Amasa M., Providence.
Eddy, Miss Mary E., Providence.
Eddy, Rev. Richard, East Providence, R. I.
Everett, Richmond P., Providence.
Field, Edward, Providence.
Field, Henry F., Rutland, Vt.
Fisher, Charles H., M. D., Providence.
Flagg, Charles O., Kingston, R. I.
Folsom, Albert A., Brookline, Mass.
Foster, Bertha Victoria, Wakefield, Mass.
Foster, L. S., New York.
Frost, Walter B., Providence.
Gamwell, Edward F., Brown University.
Gorton, Charles, Providence.
Green, Arnold, Providence.
Green, Samuel A., M. D., Providence.
Greene, Henry A., Providence.
Guild, Miss Olive L., Providence.
Guild, Dr. Reuben A., Providence.
Hall, Mrs. Emily A., Providence.
Ham, Franklin B., Providence.
Harris, George W., East Providence, R. I.
Hegeler, E. C., Chicago, Ill.
Hersey, George D., M. D., Providence.
Hewes, David, San Francisco, Cal.
Hill, Nathaniel P., Denver, Colorado.
Holbrook, Albert, Providence.
Hopeli, Ulrio, Milan, Italy.
Hopkins, Charles W., Providence.
Housatonic—(pseudonym).
Hoyt, David W., Providence.
Hoyt, Mrs. David W., Providence.
Hudson, James S., Providence.
Jackson, Henry R., Augusta, Ga.
James, Mrs. Charles T., Providence.
Jecht, Richard, M. D., Gorlitz, Prussia.
Johnson, Joseph C., Providence.
Jones, Charles C., Augusta, Ga.
Jones, Charles W., Jacksonville, Ill.
King, Marquis F., Portland, Me.

[illegible] Henry B., Providence.
[illegible] W., Boston.
[illegible] Herbert, Providence.
[illegible] Miss Hannah D., Pawtuxet, R. I.
[illegible] W., Pawtucket, R. I.
[illegible] New Paltz, Ulster Co., N.Y.
[illegible] Franklin W., Boston.
[illegible] Gen. William S., Trenton, N. J.
[illegible] Robert T., Boston.
[illegible], James, Buffalo, N. Y.
[illegible], Edward, Oakland, Cal.
[illegible], William Wallace, Sag Harbor, Long Island, N. Y.
Van Rensselaer, Rev. M., New York.
Wallis, Horace G., Boston.
Wainwright, C. F., Kansas City, Mo.
Waterhouse, S., St. Louis, Mo.
Watson, William H., Utica, N. Y.,
Webb, Rev. Samuel H., Providence.
Webb, William Seward, New York.
Weeden, William B., Providence.
Whatman, William H., Providence.
[illegible]port, Ia.
Wilbour, Mrs. Linda O., Bristol, R. I.
Wilcox, Nathan B., Westerly, R. I.
Williams, Alfred M., Providence.
[illegible]mouth, Mass.
Williams, J. Fletcher, St. Paul, Minn.
Williams, Zephaniah, Providence.
Winslow, William C., Providence.
Winsor, Justin, Cambridge, Mass.
Wood, William G., Providence.
Woodbury, Rev. Augustus, Providence.
[illegible], Mass.
Wright, Carroll D., Boston.
Young, George F., Providence.
Young, Nicholas B., Providence.

RESIDENT MEMBERS — JANUARY, 1894.

ELECTED.		ELECTED.	
1874.	Aldrich, Nelson Wilmarth	1881.	Bradley, Charles
1890.	Allen, Miss Candace	1893.	Briggs, Benjamin F.
1890.	Allen, Edward S.	1883.	Brown, D. Russell
1891.	Almy, Herbert	1883.	Brown, H. Martin
1875.	Ames, William	1893.	Brown, Pardon Fenner
1885.	Andrews, Elisha Benjamin	1876.	Bugbee, James H.
1876.	Angell, Edwin G.	1884.	Bullock, Jonathan Russell
1893.	Angell, Walter F.	1884.	Burdick, James
1880.	Anthony, John B.	1891.	Burgess, Edwin A.
1891.	Armstrong, Henry C.	1891.	Calder, Albert L.
1889.	Arnold, Fred. W.	1859.	Calder, George Beckford
1889.	Arnold, Newton Darling	1876.	Campbell, Horatio Nelson
1874.	Arnold, Olney	1873.	Carpenter, Charles Earle
1874.	Arnold, Richard James	1874.	Carpenter, Francis Wood
1877.	Arnold, Stephen Harris	1886.	Carpenter, George Moulton
1890.	Atwood, Charles H.	1889.	Catlin, Charles Albert
1893.	Backus, Thomas	1888.	Chace, James H.
1881.	Bailey, Richard Arnold	1880.	Chace, Jonathan
1853.	Bailey, William Mason	1880.	Chace, Julian A.
1881.	Baker, David Sherman, Jr.	1879.	Chace, Lewis Jenkins
1891.	Ball, Nicholas	1892.	Chace, Mrs. Lucretia G.
1890.	Ballou, William Herbert	1868.	Chace, Thomas Wilson
1884.	Ballou, Latimer Whipple	1857.	Chambers, Robert B.
1891.	Barker, Frederick Augustus	1884.	Chapin, Charles Value
1890.	Barker, Henry R.	1892.	Chapin, William W.
1872.	Barrows, Edwin	1883.	Child, Charles H.
1886.	Barstow, Amos C., Jr.	1887.	Claflin, Arthur W.
1890.	Barstow, George E.	1878.	Clark, Thomas March
1888.	Bartlett, John Russell	1880.	Coats, James
1879.	Barton, William T.	1877.	Codman, Arthur Amory
1889.	Bartow, Evelyn Pierrepont	1885.	Collins, George Lewis
1893.	Bass, Miss Bertha	1892.	Colwell, Francis
1883.	Bates, Isaac Comstock	1890.	Comstock, Louis H.
1894.	Bates, William L.	1886.	Comstock, Richard W.
1858.	Binney, William	1891.	Conant, Samuel Morse
1889.	Binney, William, Jr.	1872.	Congdon, Johns Hopkins
1887.	Blake, Eli Whitney	1892.	Cooke, Henry W.
1892.	Blake, Mrs. Elizabeth Vernon	1877.	Cranston George K.
1890.	Blodgett, John T.	1874.	Cranston, Henry Clay
1878.	Bogman, Edward Young	1881.	Cranston, James E.
1891.	Bourn, George W. B.	1894.	Cressy, Oliver S.

[illegible] HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[illegible]

[illegible] Moses Brown Ives
[illegible] Robert H. Ives
[illegible] William
[illegible] Daniel
[illegible] Mary H.B.
[illegible] Daniel L. D.
[illegible] William S.
[illegible] Henry Townsend
[illegible] Charles William
[illegible] Edward A.
[illegible] Henry L.
[illegible] Henry Whitman
[illegible] Thomas C.
[illegible] Maxwell
[illegible] Mason
[illegible] William
[illegible] Reuben Aldridge
[illegible] Emily A.
[illegible] Robert
[illegible] Albert
[illegible] Henry Augustus
[illegible] Joseph
[illegible] George Thomas
[illegible] Henry W.
[illegible] George J.
[illegible] Rowland Gibson
[illegible] George D.
[illegible] Henry Atkins
[illegible] Albert
[illegible] Charles W.
[illegible] William H.
[illegible] William H. 2d
[illegible] Frederick Street
[illegible] William Jones
[illegible] Hiram
[illegible] Anthony DeWolf.
[illegible] Richard Smith
[illegible] Webster
[illegible] James Smith
[illegible] William F. B.
[illegible] Franklin
[illegible] Albert Varnum
[illegible] George A.

ELECTED.

1880. Jones, Augustine
1891. Joslin, Henry V. A.
1889. Kelly, John B.
1883. Kendall, Hiram
1880. Kenyon, James S.
1892. Kimball, Horace A.
1876. Kimball, James M.
1892. King, Henry M.
1884. King, William Dehon
1879. Knight, Edward B.
1883. Ladd, Herbert W.
1890. Leete, George F.
1892. Lincoln, Ferdinand A.
1894. Lingane, David F.
1878. Lippitt, Charles Warren
1880. Lippitt, Christopher
1891. Lord, Augustus M.
1892. Luther, George Edmund
1891. Manly, John M.
1892. Mason, A. Livingston
1877. Mason, Earl Philip
1892. Mason, Mrs. Edith B. H.
1877. Mason, Eugene W.
1877. Mason, John H.
1891. Matteson, Charles
1889. Matteson, George Washington Richmond
1891. McGuinness, Edwin D.
1891. Mead, William B.
1883. Meader, Lewis H.
1890. Metcalf, Alfred
1876. Metcalf, Henry B.
1875. Miller, Augustus Samuel
1881. Miner, Francis Wayland
1892. Mitchell, Thomas
1892. Mott, Herbert
1891. Moulton, David C.
1890. Moulton, Edmund T.
1886. Mowry, Raymond G.
1880. Munro, Wilfred H.
1880. Nichols, Amos G.
1894. Nicholson, Samuel M.
1894. Nicholson, Stephen
1876. Nickerson, Edward I.
1874. Nightingale, George Corlis
1889. Nisbet, William Douglas

ELECTED.

1890. Olney, Frank F.
1879. Olney, George Henry
1888. Packard, Alpheus S.
1885. Page, Charles H.
1889. Paine, Charles E. (C. E.)
1894. Palmer, John S.
1890. Parker, Edward D. L.
1887. Peck, Walter A.
1849. Peckham, Samuel Wardwell
1875. Pegram, John C.
1858. Perry, Amos
1880. Perry, Marsden J.
1874. Persons, Benjamin Williams
1891. Phillips, Gilbert A.
1873. Phillips, Theodore Winthrop
1878. Porter, Emory Huntington
1891. Potter, Asa K.
1887. Preston, Howard Willis
1889. Reynolds, William Job
1891. Richards, Henry F.
1891. Richmond, Miss Caroline
1877. Richmond, Walter
1891. Ripley, James M.
1881. Roelker, William G.
1888. Rogers, Arthur
1890. Rugg, Henry W.
1856. Sabin, Charles
1877. Seagrave, Caleb
1874. Shedd, J. Herbert
1881. Sheffield, William Paine, Jr.
1889. Sheldon, Charles Henry, Jr.
1885. Sheldon, Nicholas
1879. Shepley, George L.
1877. Slater, Horatio Nelson
1883. Slater, John Whipple
1888. Smith, Benjamin West
1875. Smith, Edwin Augustus
1869. Southwick, Isaac H.
1885. Southwick, Isaac H., Jr.
1880. Spicer, William A.
1890. Spink, Joseph Edwin
1881. Spooner, Henry Joshua
1888. Stark, Charles Rathbone
1879. Stiness, John Henry
1881. Stone, Alfred
1891. Studley, Thomas E.

ELECTED.

1886. Sturges, Howard O.
1894. Swarts, Gardner T.
1856. Taft, Royal Chapin
1883. Talbot, Frederick
1874. Taylor, Charles Frederick
1881. Thomas, Charles Lloyd
1890. Thornton, George M.
1891. Thurston, Benjamin F.
1889. Tillinghast, James
1891. Tourtellot, Amasa C.
1890. Tower, James H.
1891. Traver, Mrs. Adelia E. A.
1875. Trippe, Samuel Gardner
1874. Turner, Henry Edward
1885. Updike, Daniel Berkeley
1890. Vincent, Walter Borodel
1881. Vose, James Gardner
1861. Waterman, Rufus

ELECTED.

1890. Webb, Samuel H.
1868. Weeden, William Babcock
1887. Welling, Richard Ward Greene
1891. West, George J.
1890. Whitaker, Nelson Bowen
1889. White, Hunter Carson
1884. White, Stillman
1874. Whitford, George Washington
1884. Wilbour, Joshua
1891. Wilbur, George A.
1881. Williams, Zephaniah
1891. Wilson, Edmund R.
1886. Wilson, Ellery H.
1888. Wilson, George G.
1890. Wolcott, Henry
1887. Wood, William H.
1876. Woods, Marshall

LIFE MEMBERS—JANUARY, 1894.

ACTIVE.	LIFE.			DIED.
1867.	1872.	George T. Paine,	Providence.	
1849.	1872.	Henry T. Beckwith,	Providence.	1893.
1866.	1872.	William Greene,	Warwick.	1883.
1836.	1872.	Rowland G. Hazard,	S. Kingstown.	1888.
	1872.	Holder Borden Bowen,	Providence.	
	1872.	Amasa Mason Eaton,	N. Providence.	
1857.	1873.	James Y. Smith,	Providence.	1876.
	1873.	James B. Swan,	Providence.	
1870.	1873.	Benjamin G. Pabodie,	Providence.	1880.
	1875.	Albert G. Angell,	Providence.	1884.
	1876.	William Ely,	Providence.	
	1877.	Hezekiah Conant,	Providence.	
1844.	1879.	Samuel G. Arnold,	Portsmouth.	1880.
	1879.	Amos D. Lockwood,	Providence.	1884.
	1879.	Royal Woodward,	Albany, N. Y.	1882.
1878.	1880.	Charles Gorton,	Providence.	
1874.	1880.	John Pitman Walker,	Providence.	1887.
1841.	1880.	Alexander Duncan,	Scotland.	1889.
1877.	1883.	John T. Mumford,	Providence.	1891.
	1883.	Thomas Poynton Ives Goddard,	Providence.	1893.
1873.	1884.	Henry G. Russell,	Providence.	
	1885.	William G. Weld,	Newport.	
	1885.	John Nicholas Brown,	Newport.	
	1885.	George Peabody Wetmore,	Newport.	
	1885.	Harold Brown,	Newport.	
	1886.	John W. Danielson,	Providence.	
	1888.	Le Roy King,	Newport.	
	1889.	Charles Fletcher,	Providence.	
	1890.	Miss Julia Bullock,	Providence.	
	1890.	Joseph Davol,	Providence.	
	1890.	Mrs. Mary H. Knowles,	Providence.	
	1890.	Joseph Banigan,	Providence.	
	1890.	Walter Callender,	Providence.	
	1890.	Arnold Green,	Providence.	
	1890.	Lucian Sharpe,	Providence.	
	1890.	John L. Troup,	Providence.	
1881.	1892.	John O. Austin,	Providence.	
1858.	1892.	Richmond P. Everett,	Providence.	
1885.	1892.	George Gordon King,	Newport.	
	1892.	Mrs. Belinda Olney Wilbour,	Bristol.	
	1894.	William Butler Duncan,	New York.	
1882.	1894.	Charles H. Smith,	Providence.	
1871.	1894.	Rowland Hazard,	Peacedale.	
1866.	1894.	Horatio Rogers,	Providence.	
1874.	1894.	Thomas Jefferson Hill,	Providence.	
1891.	1894.	Elizabeth C. Hill,	Providence.	

HONORARY MEMBER.

ELECTED.		
1888.	James Burrill Angell, LL. D.,	Ann Arbor, Mich.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

ELECTED.		
1888.	James Tillinghast,	Buffalo, N. Y.
1888.	William Frederick Poole, LL. D.,	Chicago, Ill.
1888.	Samuel Smith Purple, M. D.,	New York.
1888.	Edward Amasa Park, D. D.,	Andover, Mass.
1888.	Abby Isabel (Brown) Bulkley,	Brooklyn, N. Y.
1889.	William Henry Watson, M. D.,	Utica, N. Y.
1890.	Rev. William R. Bagnall,	Middletown, Ct.
1890.	Franklin Pierce Rice,	Worcester, Mass.
1890.	William Harden,	Savannah, Ga.
1891.	Henry Fitz Gilbert Waters,	Salem, Mass.
1891.	William Warner Hoppin,	New York.
1891.	Isaac Pitman Noyes,	Washington, D. C.
1892.	Henry Herbert Edes,	Charlestown, Mass.
1893.	Clarence Winthrop Bowen,	New York.
1893.	Alfred Manchester,	Salem, Mass.

For list of Honorary and Corresponding Members elected at previous dates, see Proceedings, 1887–88.

Form for a Devise of Land.

I give and devise to the Rhode Island Historical Society, a corporation created by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, &c., and its assigns, [*here describe the land to be devised.*]

Form for a Bequest.

I give and bequeath to the Rhode Island Historical Society, a corporation created by the General Assembly of the State of Rhode Island, &c., [*here state the sum of money, or describe the personal property to be bequeathed.*]

From R.I. Society,
Received June 14, 94

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
RHODE ISLAND
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NEW SERIES

VOL. II JULY, 1894 NO. 2

SLAVERY IN RHODE ISLAND, 1755-1776

BY
WILLIAM D. JOHNSTON, A. B.

PROVIDENCE, R. I. - - - PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

[Entered at the Post-Office at Providence, R. I., Aug. 11, 1893, as second-class matter.]

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1755-1776

BY

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PROVIDENCE

PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY

1894

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· PROVIDENCE, R. I.

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SLAVERY IN RHODE ISLAND, 1755-1776.*

PART I.

INTRODUCTION: SLAVERY BEFORE 1755.

I. THE LAW AND THE SLAVE.

Introduction. The history of slavery in Rhode Island, from 1755 to 1776, is the history of the decay of the institution in that colony. Anti-slavery sentiment and agitation may be traced back to the time of Roger Williams, the founder of the colony. Moore speaks of "the humane efforts of Roger Williams and John Eliot to abate the severity of judgment against captives, and mitigate the horrors of slavery in Massachusetts." Beside these, several of the leading spirits of the seventeenth century had raised a protest against the institution of slavery, but it was not till 1717 that any organized effort against slaveholding was made, and it was not until the time of the approaching revolution that this feeling and this thought became at all general.

During these years many forces, economic and social, were active, undermining the institution of slavery, and modifying public opinion with regard to slavery and the slave trade. A consideration of these forces and their varied manifestations is necessary.

*The sources of this account of slavery in Rhode Island in the last generation preceding the Revolution are, besides the books and pamphlets referred to in foot-notes, the contemporary newspapers, the manuscript records of Providence (town meeting, town council and probate), those of the N. E. Yearly Meeting of Friends, those of certain churches in Rhode Island, and the Moses Brown Papers.

Legislation in the Seventeenth Century. May 18, 1652, the following act was passed by the representatives of Providence and Warwick:[1] "Whereas there is a common course practiced among Englishmen, to buy negroes to the end that they may have them for service or slaves forever, for the preventing of such practices among us, let it be ordered that no black mankind, or white, being forced to covenant bond or otherwise, serve any man or his assigns longer than ten years, or until they come to be twenty-four years of age if they be taken under fourteen, from the time of their coming within the liberties of the Colony, and at the end or term of ten years to set them free as the manner is with English servants, and that man that will not let them go free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may be enslaved to others for a longer time, he or they shall forfeit to the Colony forty pounds."

In March, 1675–6, another law of like nature was passed.[2] The New England colonies were in the habit of selling as slaves the Indian captives they took in their frequent wars. Rhode Island enslaved few, perhaps none; still there were Indian slaves carried into Rhode Island, and it was with reference to these that the act of March, 1675–6, was passed. This provided that "no Indian in this colony be a slave but only to pay their debts, or for their bringing up, or courtesy they have received, or to perform covenant, as if they had been countrymen not in war."

Results of This Legislation; Manumission. What Williams has said[3] of the law of 1652 is true both of that law and the law of 1675–6 just quoted. They were both admirable laws, but they were lacking the public sentiment to give them practical force in the colony. They were the expression of a part of the colony rather than the whole, and that part, it will be observed, was the northern. The principle, however, embodied in these laws, persisted; masters sometimes gave slaves their freedom, and slaves took advantage of

[1] "R. I. Colonial Records," I., 243.

[2] Wilkins Updike, "History of the Narragansett Church," p. 171.

[3] G. W. Williams, "History of the Negro Race in America," I., p. 263.

it where possible, to secure their freedom. The result was that at the beginning of the eighteenth century there was a considerable number of free negroes. Emancipation became more and more common, and the colony began to fear that it would have to support negroes whose years of usefulness had been spent in work for their masters, and who were manumitted by them when old and helpless. To prevent this abuse, an injustice to slave and to commonwealth, the Rhode Island legislature in 1728–9 passed a law,[1] providing that when aged or helpless slaves were manumitted, security in the sum of not less than one hundred pounds should be given to the town treasurer.

Yet, in spite of the seeming demand for a law, it must be said that these abuses were comparatively rare. Manumitted servants were usually given a small establishment with their freedom, and were generally able to care for themselves. "A negro man and woman, in 1735, by Ind'y & Frugality, scrap'd together £200, or £300. They sailed from Newport to their own country, Guinea, where their savings gave them an independent fortune."[2] With the growth of Providence, many emancipated slaves shared in the increase of general prosperity, and left behind them effects sufficient to attract the attention of the town council. Among many others was "Jack Harris, a negro man, so called," who died December 21, 1745, and left one hundred and forty-five pounds eleven shillings and five pence, much of it, unhappily, in colonial bills; also John Read, who died December 21, 1753, and left one hundred pounds; Andrew Frank,[3] who died intestate, October 6, 1755, and left to the town two hundred and twenty-nine pounds and six pence, besides an old Bible and farming implements. These facts indicate that the position of the slave in Rhode Island, partly because of public opinion as expressed in the two acts already quoted, and partly for economic reasons, was practically the same as that of the apprentice or indentured white servant. The position of the free negro or Indian was determined as among the colonists themselves by

[1] R. I. Laws, 1730, p. 162.

[2] "Boston Evening Post," 1735.

[3] "R. I. Historical Tracts," No. 15, p. 177.

family, wealth and social attainments. It has been asserted, however,[1] that an examination of the legislation of this period will lead one to believe that there existed some jealousy of the negro, and a desire to infringe upon the acquired liberties of the free negro. Let us consider the truth of this proposition.

Legislation from 1700 to 1755. In 1704[2] on account of thefts committed after nightfall, negroes were forbidden to be abroad after nine o'clock, on penalty of whipping. No housekeeper was to be allowed to entertain them after this time, on penalty of five shillings fine. An act of 1708[3] increased this fine to ten shillings. In 1714,[4] slaves having run away under pretense of being sent by their masters and having on this account been carried out of the colony and often lost to their masters, it was enacted that no person should transport any slave over a ferry or out of the colony without a certificate from the master, on penalty of twenty shillings fine; that all ministers of justice and others should aid in arresting and returning all slaves seeking to escape in this manner. An act of 1718[5] provided that all slaves who should be found purloining or stealing should be tried and punished by a court consisting of two or more justices of the peace or town officers of the town where the offence was committed, instead of in the general courts of trial and gaol delivery as before. There was the right of appeal to the higher court only in case the owner of the slave should desire it and would give bond to prosecute the appeal. In 1743,[6] there was an Act "for the more effectual punishment of negroes that shall attempt to commit rape on any white woman." In March, 1750–1,[7] an Act was passed, supplementary to the acts of 1704 and 1708, "to prevent all persons Keeping house within this colony, from entertaining Indian, Negro or Mulatto servants or slaves:"

[1] Williams, "History of the Negro Race in America," I., 264.

[2] R. I. Laws, 1730, p. 50.

[3] "R. I. Colonial Records," IV., 50.

[4] R. I. Laws, 1730, p. 72.

[5] R. I. Laws, 1719, p. 101.

[6] R. I. Laws, 1745, p. 263.

[7] R. I. Laws, 1752, pp. 92-3.

"Whereas great disorders and Burglaries are oftentimes raised and committed by Negroes, Indians and other impudent Persons, entertaining such Indian, Negro and Mulatto servants and slaves, and selling them strong Liquors and receiving and bargaining with them; by Means whereof such servants and slaves are induced and tempted to pilfer and steal from their Masters and Mistresses, to the utter Ruin of such Servants, and to the great Injury of the Public," it is therefore enacted, that no one shall sell liquor to any Indian, mulatto, or negro servant or slave, under penalty of a fine of thirty pounds, one-half to the informer; no householder shall entertain any such without the owner's consent, nor furnish opportunities for dancing or gaming, under penalty of fine or imprisonment; transgressors (if not whites) shall have their housekeeping broken up and be set to work for the town; colored servants or slaves abroad after nine o'clock shall be apprehended and, in the morning, whipped, unless the owner will pay ten pounds; trading with slaves was also forbidden.

Character of this Legislation. None of these laws, I think, indicate that the negro was treated with particular severity.[1] The attempt was made to prevent the numerous thefts which were committed by slaves, though seemingly with little success. A law was also passed to prevent the escape of slaves from their masters, but this, it must be remembered, was as much in the interest of the public as of the master. A poor stranger was always liable to become a charge upon the town, and it was therefore by no means an uncommon thing to return a poor white person to his or her place of legal residence. By this law for the return of fugitive slaves, therefore, no peculiar discrimination was made against the slave or against the negro. It is true these laws, unlike the laws of 1652 and 1675-6, do not prohibit slavery but are permissive and regulative. The interests of the owner of land and of slaves had become important since the opening of the

[1] Slaves were never subjected to severer punishments than whites for the same offences, as has been the case in some states; and they enjoyed the protection of the laws for offences against their persons equally with the whites. — *E. R. Potter, Report to R. I. Legislature, 1840.*

century, and were now deemed worthy of consideration. The laws of 1652 and 1675-6, as has been said, were the expression of the northern and democratic part of the colony; the slave laws of the eighteenth century, on the other hand, were the expression of the wealthier southern counties, and were based not on grounds of principle but on grounds of interest and expediency. This change was occasioned by the growth of the Narragansett Plantations, and the increase in maritime trade, which centered in Newport. These laws, however, were not cruel; they simply expressed what were commonly recognized as the rights of the master over the slave. As Williams says,[1] negro slaves were ratable at law as chattel property, and could be taken in execution to satisfy debts as other personal property. He cites this instance:—

"In October, 1743, Comfort Taylor of Bristol sued and obtained judgment against a negro named Cuff Borden for two hundred pounds and cost of suit for a grievous trespass. Cuff was a slave. An ordinary execution would have gone against his person; he would have been imprisoned and nothing more. In view of this condition of affairs Mrs. Taylor petitioned the General Assembly praying that authority be granted the sheriff to sell Cuff as other property to satisfy the judgment. The Assembly granted her prayer as follows: 'upon consideration whereof, it is voted and resolved, that the sheriff of the said county of Newport, when he shall receive the execution against the said negro Cuff, be, and is hereby fully empowered to sell said negro Cuff as other personal estate; and after the fine of twenty pounds be paid into the general treasury, and all other charges deducted out of the price of said negro, the remainder to be appropriated in satisfying said execution.' "[2]

This procedure was not, however, peculiar to the legal treatment of negroes. It was not a rare occurrence to sell poor white debtors in similar cases. For example, Julian Welford and Christina Renshen, two women convicted of theft in Newport, not having an estate, were sold to pay the costs,

[1] "History of the Negro Race in America," II., 278.

[2] "R. I. Colonial Records," V., 72-3.

"but they scarcely sold for enough to pay the person who whipped them." [1]

White Slave and Black Slave. This was the legal status of the servant or slave, black or white, in 1755, as nearly as we can determine. The essential difference between the white slave and the black was that there was usually a limit to the white man's servitude, and his children were not subject to the same condition of servitude. The reason for this lies in the cause of the servitude in each case. In the case of the white, this was debt or crime for which the penalty was transportation with service. In the case of the negro and Indian, this cause was a one-sided war, with ensuing captivity and servitude for the weaker race. With none of the same race or family to care for his interests, there would necessarily not result in the condition of the negro or Indian slave, the same modifications as in the condition of the white slave. Accordingly while we find the treatment of all classes of slaves to be practically the same, public opinion among the colonists, and first of all among Englishmen in the old country, did not go so far as to allow condemnation of their fellow-countrymen to life-long servitude save rarely, and so far as I know rarely allowed the enslavement of children on account of the enslavement of a parent, at least when one parent was left to support the children.

II. THE CHURCH AND THE SLAVE.

The Activity and Teaching of the Church of England. We will now examine into the relations of the slave with the church, for these even more than his legal status determined his future social position, and a clear understanding of these relations is necessary to a complete comprehension of the social position of the slave in 1755, and the movement of the following years which ended in the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slave.

In 1730 Mr. Usher, missionary at Bristol, wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts: "I have

[1] "Newport Mercury," 1761.

had sundry negroes make application for baptism that were able to render a very good account of the hope that was in them, and their practices were generally agreeable to the principles of the Christian religion. But I am not permitted to comply with their request and my own duty, being forbid by their masters."[1] In 1740 one negro is reported as baptised. In 1746 thirty negroes and Indians are reported as belonging to the congregation, but complaint is still made of opposition from masters to the baptism of their slaves.[2] Masters felt that baptism was inconsistent with a state of slavery, and therefore made strenuous opposition to the baptism of their slaves, not only here but elsewhere.

Dean Berkeley wrote in 1731 with reference to the negro slaves,[3] "The religion of these people, as is natural to suppose, takes after that of their masters; some few are baptised, several frequent the different assemblies, and far the greater part none at all."

Mr. McSparran, missionary in Narragansett, in 1741, reports that he has begun the catechetical lecture for the negroes, and spends one hour immediately preceding divine service in catechising and instructing these poor wretches, who for the most part are extremely ignorant; and whether from the novelty of the thing, or as he hopes from a better motive, more than fifty slaves give their attendance. His journal contains this entry under date of August 2, 1741: "Dr. McSparran catechised the negroes, and there were present on that occasion at church, near about or more than one hundred." In 1743 Mr. Honeyman at Newport reported "an hundred negroes who constantly attend the public worship of God."[4]

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, already referred to, though owning a plantation in the Barbadoes and being "under the necessity of purchasing fresh hands from time to time to keep up the stock," early began to take an interest in the religious instruction of the negroes,

[1] Updike, 454.

[2] Updike, 459, 463.

[3] Updike, 177.

[4] Updike, 460, 168, 461.

and when they could not send special catechists wrote to their missionaries "to use their best endeavors at proper times to instruct the negroes," and "to recommend it zealously to their masters to order their slaves at convenient times to come to them that they might be instructed."[1] In "an address to masters and mistresses of families in the English Plantations abroad," issued by this society, we find the following: "Let me beseech you to consider them not merely as slaves, and upon the same level with laboring beasts, but as men slaves and women slaves, who have the same frame and faculties with yourselves, and have souls capable of being made happy, and reason and understanding to receive instruction in order to it."

The influence of such publications was undoubtedly great in mitigating the severity of slavery, especially among Churchmen in the colonies. It was through such publications and through its missionaries that the English church materially modified the relations of master and slave.

The Attitude of the Quakers Toward Slavery. The second ecclesiastical force operative at this time was the Society of Friends. They were the first, so far as we can learn, to put forth an organized effort against slavery. In 1717 the Friends' Yearly Meeting Record says: "The subject of slaves considered and advice given that letters be written to the Islands and elsewhere not to send any more slaves to be sold by any Friend." In 1727 the practice of importing negroes was censured; and by the middle of the eighteenth century the emancipation of slaves had gradually become a matter of action by the whole Quaker body. "Similar attempts in other sects were rather the acts of individuals."[2] Yet slavery was still permitted by the Friends as by other religious bodies, and by the State. This marks the difference between the middle and the end of the century.

Influence of the Church upon the Status of the Slave. Slavery in 1755 was among many recognized as an evil,

[1] Humphrey's History of the Society.

[2] Von Holst, "History of the United States," I., 279.

yet it was permitted; toward the close of the century it was felt as an evil and was prohibited. In 1755 the slave in his relation with his master was treated under law as chattel property. He could be bought and sold, punished or emancipated at the will of his master so long as this did not interfere with the interests of the colony. Yet in his relations with the State, on the other hand, the slave was more than chattel property, for he could be arrested, tried and punished according to the ordinary procedure unless the master interfered, and the master could be prevented from manumitting a slave where the slave would be liable to become a charge upon the community. These relations to the State, and especially the relations to the master, were modified, we have seen, by the teaching and activity of the church. The church, perhaps more than any other one thing, determined the *status* of the slave in 1755, economic causes more than any other determined the *extent* of slavery at this time.

III. THE SLAVE TRADE AND THE EXTENT OF SLAVERY.

The Growth of the Slave Trade. It is necessary for us next to ascertain the extent of slavery in Rhode Island in 1755, and first to consider the development of the slave trade, which determined largely the extent of slavery.

In the earlier history of the colony there was a demand for labor which could be met only by the immigration of free labor, or the importation of slave labor. England encouraged it because it was more profitable to her commerce, and expressed herself as anxious "for the well supplying of the plantations and colonies with sufficient numbers of negroes at reasonable prices."[1] The colony engaged in it, on the other hand, because her merchants also found it profitable for them. They could get molasses in the West Indies, convert it into rum in their Rhode Island distilleries, exchange the rum in

[1] "The assiento, a contract with the old French Guinea Company for furnishing Spanish America with negro slaves, was conveyed to the English by the treaty of Utrecht (1713) and assigned to the South Sea Company, who thereby agreed to land 4,800 slaves annually for thirty years in the new world." *Arnold, History of Rhode Island, II., 48.*

Guinea for slaves and gold-dust, trade some of their slaves for more molasses again, and make after all a very handsome profit. For these reasons the slave trade in Rhode Island grew rapidly during the early years of the eighteenth century.

Previous to this "Barbadoes was the source whence Rhode Island received most of her slaves. From twenty to thirty was the average annual supply, and from thirty to forty pounds each the usual price. No more than these could be disposed of, owing to the general dislike our planters have for them, by reason of their turbulent and unruly tempers, to the natural increase of those already here, and to the inclination of our people in general to employ white servants before negroes."[1] In 1708 Governor Cranston said that from 1698 to December 25, 1707, no negroes were imported into Rhode Island from Africa. That same year, however, the colony laid an import tax of three pounds on each negro imported,[2] and other acts followed which showed that the trade with Africa direct, or by way of the West Indies, was by this time well established. February 27, 1712, because the tax imposed in 1708 had been evaded, "for preventing clandestine importations and exportations of passengers, or negroes, or Indian slaves into or out of this colony," an act was passed providing that masters of vessels should specify the number, sex and names of the slaves in their cargo, and the persons to whom they were consigned.[3] July, 1715, an act was passed to prohibit the importation of Indian slaves, because "divers conspiracies, insurrections, rapes, thefts, and other execrable crimes have been lately perpetrated in this and the adjoining governments by Indian slaves, and the increase of them in this colony daily discourages the importing of white servants from Great Britain."[4] Another act similar to the act of 1712 was also passed, regulating further the importation of negro slaves. This provided that persons importing slaves "shall enter their number, names and sex in the naval office," and

[1] Arnold, "History of the State of Rhode Island," II., 32, quoting "R. I. Colonial Records," IV., 54.

[2] "R. I. Colonial Records," IV., 34.

[3] R. I. Laws, 1730, p. 64.

[4] R. I. Laws, 1730, p. 82.

shall pay to the naval officer a tax of three pounds per head. This act applied to persons also, bringing negroes from adjoining provinces, excepting travelers who did not remain in the colony more than six months, and excepting slaves imported directly from Africa. It directed a portion of the income from this tax to be expended for repairs on the streets of Newport. An act of 1717[1] ordered one hundred pounds more to be paid out of the impost duty fund for paving Newport streets. An act of June, 1729,[2] ordered that half of the income from this duty be applied to street improvements in Newport, and half to the building and repair of "great bridges on the main." The impost law of 1712 was repealed in May, 1732, by order of the king.[3] It had been an important source of revenue to the colony, but its effect had been to restrict the slave trade to some extent, and so to injure the English interests. It was for this reason that it was repealed. The result of the repeal seems to have been favorable. Governor Hopkins stated[4] "that for more than thirty years prior to 1764 Rhode Island sent to the coast annually eighteen vessels carrying 1,800 hhds. of rum. The commerce in rum and slaves afforded about £40,000 per annum for remittance from Rhode Island to Great Britain." As the trade grew Newport became more and more the central market. Captain Isaac Freeman, with a coasting sloop, in 1752, wanted a cargo of men and molasses from Newport within five weeks. His correspondent wrote that the quantity could not be had in three months. "There are so many vessels lading for Guinea we can't get one hogshead of rum for the cash."[5] It is probable that the trade in Rhode Island was much more extensive than in the other New England colonies. Dr. John Eliot says: "The African trade was carried on in Massachusetts and commenced at an early period, but to a small extent compared with Rhode Island." Samuel Dexter says: "Vessels from Rhode Island have brought slaves into Boston. Whether

[1] "R. I. Colonial Records," IV., 225.

[2] R. I. Laws, 1730, p. 183.

[3] "R. I. Colonial Records," IV., 471.

[4] "R. I. Colonial Records," VI., 380.

[5] "American Historical Record," I., 316; Geo. C. Mason.

any have been imported into that town by its own merchants I am unable to say." In the latter half of the century Rhode Island still maintained this pre-eminence, and its chief mart, Newport. During this period Bristol also became noted as a slave port, and Captain Simeon Potter, one of her famous slave traders, flourished about 1764; but before this, by 1755, the trade to Rhode Island had begun to fail.

Reasons for the Decline of the Slave Trade. The decline of the slave trade and of slavery as an institution in Rhode Island in consequence, is due to both moral and economic causes. Some historians assert that slavery was wrong and therefore fell; others that it fell because it was unprofitable. In Rhode Island it fell both because it was wrong and because it was unprofitable; public sentiment, usually expressed in religious terms among the colonists, pronounced it wrong; public, and often individual action in this matter, was based on grounds of expediency, profit and loss. The motive of their procedure was moral, the method of their procedure was calculative and utilitarian.

The strongest moral force antagonistic to slavery was that presented by the faith and conduct of the Quakers, who for half a century dominated in the politics of the colony, and exerted a stronger influence upon the thought and activity of the colony than any other sect. It may, indeed, be questioned whether the high moral spirit and endeavor of Roger Williams would not have been without conspicuous results had he not been followed by this Quaker succession. Another strong moral force at work against slavery was that of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The activity of this society in the colony, already described, and the reading of the annual sermons delivered before the society, a kind of literature at that time most influential, did much to modify the relations of master and slave, and finally to do away with the system of slavery altogether.

The physical and economic reasons for the decay of slavery in Rhode Island are more important. "The climate was too harsh, the social system too simple to engender a good economic employment of black labor. The simple industrial

methods of each New England homestead * * * made a natural barrier against an alien social system including either black or copper-colored dependents. The blacks soon dwindled in numbers, or dropped out from a life too severe for any but the hardiest and firmest-fibred races."[1] Added to these were two other, distinctly economic, causes: first, the diminished demand because of the multiplication of laboring white people, and second, the diminished supply and the increasing difficulty in getting slaves, especially good ones. Captain David Lindsay writes from Anamaboe in 1753: "The Traid is so dull it is actuly a noof to make a man Creasy. * * * I never had so much Trouble in all my Voiges."[2] Increased competition also acted with the diminished supply and demand to make the risks in the trade greater and the profits consequently less.

Extent and Distribution of Slavery. These changes in the slave market determined the extent of slavery in Rhode Island from time to time.

The following is a table of the population of Rhode Island at different dates:

	White population.	Negroes, slave and free.
1708	7,181	425
1730	17,935	1,648
1749	32,773	3,077
1756	35,939	4,697
1774	59,707	3,668

Two explanations of this table are necessary. The census of 1730 did not include the towns east of the Bay, which were not added to the colony until 1746. This will account for a part of the increase of negroes appearing in 1748. Beside this, about 1730–48 Rhode Island merchants had traded largely to the West Indies, bringing back negroes as a part of their cargoes, and in 1732 the impost tax had been repealed. The falling off in the increase of negro population

[1] Wm. B. Weeden, "Economic and Social History of New England," p. 451.

[2] "American Historical Record," I., 339.

in the period between 1748 and 1756 is due to the fact that negroes, who made excellent seamen, were often induced by the masters of vessels to run away and go to sea. Allowing for these facts, an examination of the table shows that the negro population increased somewhat more rapidly than the white population during the first half of the eighteenth century.

How then was this negro population distributed? "Of the negroes and slaves in Rhode Island," says Potter,[1] "the greater part were in a very few towns, Newport, North and South Kingstown, Warwick, Bristol, Portsmouth and Jamestown. By the census of 1748–9 the town of South Kingstown had more negroes in it than any other town except Newport. This is also true of the census of 1774 and 1783." In 1774, out of a population of 3,668 negroes, Newport had 1,246, South Kingstown 440, Providence 303, North Kingstown 211, Jamestown 131, Portsmouth 122, and Bristol 114. Earlier than this "King's county (now Washington), which contained one-third of the population of the State, numbered more than a thousand slaves. The census of 1730 gives a less number, but it was popular to conceal numbers from the observation of the home government. Families would average from five to forty slaves each. They owned slaves in proportion to their means of support. The slaves and horses were about equal in number; the latter were raised for exportation. Newport was the great slave market of New England. There were some importers of slaves in Narragansett; among them were Rowland Robinson and Colonel Thomas Hazard."[2] In Newport there were twenty-two still-houses. "The large exportation of New England rum to Africa, which in return brought slaves, increased the wealth of the place to an astonishing degree. There were but few of her merchants that were not directly or indirectly interested in the traffic. Some forty or fifty sail of vessels were in this employment, and it was thought a necessary appendage to have one or more slaves to act as domestics in their

[1] Report to R. I. Legislature, Jan., 1840.

[2] E. R. Potter, Report to R. I. Legislature, Jan., 1840.

families."[1] Newport was then the centre of the trade, while the Narragansett Plantations were the stronghold of the institution of slavery.

We have now given the nature and extent of slavery in Rhode Island in 1755, as determined by preceding thought and legislation, by existing institutions, and by the development of the slave trade. This discussion has been necessary to a clear understanding of the subsequent history of slavery in the colony. In fact, because of the paucity of material, this is not only a wise but the only possible presentation of the conditions of slavery in Rhode Island in 1755, for of legal records, public documents, literary remains, or private memoranda or correspondence for the year 1755, defining the nature and extent of slavery in the colony, there may be said to be nothing. We have next to consider how these conditions were modified by the different forces and institutions in the few years preceding the Revolution.

[1] Peterson, "History of Rhode Island," p. 104.

PART II.

SLAVERY BETWEEN 1755 AND 1776.

I. SLAVE LEGISLATION.

Laws, 1755–1774. As has been said, negroes made excellent seamen, and were often induced to go to sea on privateers and merchant vessels, without consent of their owners. To prevent this an act was passed in 1757[1] which provided that commanders of privateers or masters of any other vessels, carrying slaves out of the Colony without consent of their masters, should be fined twenty-six pounds; owners of slaves carried off to recover double damages where the master of a vessel shall be deemed to have knowledge of a slave's being carried off; masters of vessels resisting search to be judged knowing of such carrying off. In 1765 another act was passed regulating the manumission and freeing of negro and mulatto slaves. This act provided that the slave freed should procure sufficient security to indemnify the town from charge.[2] In 1770 an act was passed "for breaking up disorderly Houses Kept by free Negroes and Mulattoes, and for putting out such Negroes and Mulattoes to Service." After repeating the provisions of the act of 1751, for "breaking up from housekeeping" any free negro or mulatto who shall keep a disorderly house, "or entertain any Slave or Slaves at unreasonable Hours or in an extravagant Manner," the statute proceeds:

"And if such free Negroes or Mulattoes have been Slaves, and manumitted by their Masters, the respective Town-Councils are hereby empowered (if they shall think proper) to put out, and bind them as Servants for a Term of Time not exceeding Four Years, upon such Conditions as they shall think most for the Interest of the Town: And to commit

[1] "R. I. Colonial Records," VI., 64–5.

[2] R. I. Laws, 1767, p. 234.

them to the Work-House until suitable Places can be had for them," and "that the Wages of every free Negro or Mulatto, so bound out, which shall remain after the Expiration of his Servitude, and which shall not have been expended in maintaining him and his Family, be paid to such Servant, unless the Town-Council shall think it most for the Interest of the Town and of such Servant, to reserve the same for the Maintenance of himself and his Family." [1]

September 10, 1770, the laws for restraining Indian and colored servants, and regulating the manumission of slaves in Newport, were revised. Those found abroad after nine o'clock at night were to be confined in a cage, instead of the jail, till morning, and then to be whipped with ten stripes, unless redeemed for a small sum by their masters. In cases of manumission the owner was to give proper security that the subject would not become a public charge, and the free papers were to be recorded. Suitable penalties were imposed for violation of this law, and a failure to conform thereto invalidated an act of manumission.[2] The statute applied only to Newport, where, however, the greater portion of the slaves in the colony were held. A bill was also ordered to be prepared, to prevent the further importation of slaves into Rhode Island, but no action was had upon it at present. [3]

The Law of 1774; Origin. In June, 1774, the most important act [4] yet proposed was introduced into the Rhode Island legislature and passed. It read as follows:

"Whereas the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and liberties, among which that of personal freedom must be considered as the greatest, and as those who are desirous of enjoying all the advantages of liberty themselves should be willing to extend personal liberty to others," etc., it is enacted that all slaves thereafter brought into the State shall be free, except slaves of persons traveling through the colony, or persons coming

[1] R. I. Laws, 1772, pp. 24, 25.

[2] Laws of 1772, pp. 34, 37.

[3] Arnold, II., 304.

[4] "R. I. Colonial Records," VII., 251–2.

from other colonies to reside, and that citizens of Rhode Island owning slaves shall be forbidden to bring any slaves into the colony, except they give bond to carry them out again in a year.

As we have seen, in 1770, a bill had been ordered to be prepared to prevent the further importation of slaves into Rhode Island, but nothing further had been done. Meanwhile, in 1772, the Sommersett decision had been given in England. [1] "The effect of this decision upon the colonies," says Arnold, [2] "was to confirm the views already expressed by many writers, to stimulate legislation against the system, and to hasten the emancipation of slaves in New England."

At the Providence town meeting, May 17, 1774, Jacob Schoemaker having died intestate, and having left six negroes upon the town, it was voted "that it is unbecoming the character of freemen to enslave the said negroes; and they do hereby give up all claim of right or property in them, the said negroes, or either of them, and it is hereby recommended to the town council to take the said negroes under their protection, and to bind the small children to some proper masters or mistresses, and in case they should not be personal estate of the said Jacob Schoemaker, sufficient to pay his just debts, it is further recommended to said council to bind out either or both of the adult negroes for that purpose," and "Whereas, the inhabitants of America are engaged in the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as personal liberty is an essential part of the rights of mankind, the deputies of the town are directed to use their endeavors to obtain an act of the General Assembly, prohibiting the importation of negro slaves

[1] In this case Lord Mansfield decided that the slave Sommersett must be discharged because there was no positive law sanctioning the institution of slavery in England.

"The importance of the case for the colonies lay not in the assertion of the principle that slavery depended on positive law, for the American statute books were full of positive law on slavery; the precedent thus established determined the future course of England against the delivery of fugitives, whether from her colonies or from other countries." *Marion McDougall, "Fugitive Slaves," p. 12.*

[2] History of Rhode Island," II., 321–2.

into this colony; and that all negroes born in the colony should be free, after attaining to a certain age."

Of the town deputies Stephen Hopkins was one, and to him has been given the credit for the passage of the subsequent act in the legislature. Mr. Sidney Rider says[1] on this point, "There is nothing contained in the town records to show that Mr. Hopkins was present at the meeting, nor can we find anything to connect him with the passage of the preamble or with the law itself; nevertheless the style is very like his style, and the mode of reasoning is his favorite mode. He may have written it." Mr. Foster says[2] that "at the direct instance of Stephen Hopkins (himself for many years an owner of slaves, though a most humane master), the General Assembly ordained" that slaves thereafter brought into the colony should be free; * * "The letter of Moses Brown to Robert Waln distinctly states that 'Governor Hopkins was a member of the Assembly from Providence, and was the person who dictated to me the following preamble to the act.'" It is probable that Hopkins was an active factor in the formulation, the introduction and the passage of the act. The fact, however, that strong pressure had been brought to bear upon him by the Society of Friends to set at liberty one of his own slaves, that he did not accede to this demand, that subsequent efforts, continued from month to month, appear to have been equally unavailing, that he was finally dropped from membership in the society, and that he did not emancipate his slave until his will in 1781; these facts, I say, together with our knowledge of the state of the public mind at the time, and the restless activities of Moses Brown, lead me to believe that Hopkins was not the most active factor, but that the individual who did most for the passage of the act was Moses Brown. But while Moses Brown, with the assistance of Stephen Hopkins, formulated the measure, the immediate reason for its formulation and introduction was the action of the Providence town meeting, and the reason for the passage of the measure lay in the state of public opinion at the time regarding slavery. Now, as in 1652, we see that

[1] "R. I. Historical Tracts," No. 9, p. xix.

[2] "R. I. Historical Tracts," No. 19, pp. 99, 249.

it was in the northern and more democratic part of the colony that the anti-slavery sentiment was most developed, and exercised the strongest influence upon legislation, first in regard to the slave trade, and afterwards in regard to the institution of slavery itself. Neither to any one individual nor to the colony as a whole is due this act against the importation of slaves, but largely to the economic and moral conditions of the northern half of the colony.

November, 1775, a bill for emancipation was introduced into the legislature. The abolition of the slave trade had been accomplished more than a year before. It was now proposed to terminate the system of chattel slavery by declaring free "all negroes as well as other persons hereafter born within this colony," and to provide for the liberation of existing slaves at the will of the owners by proper regulations. This bill was referred to the next session of the legislature, and it was voted "that in the meantime a copy thereof be published in the Newport and Providence newspapers, and that the deputies of each town in the colony lay the same before their constituents in town meeting, and obtain their opinions thereon and present the same to the General Assembly, at their next session." In accordance with these instructions the Smithfield deputies were ordered by their constituents to make the bill a law. In this same year the amount necessary as security in case of manumission was made one thousand pounds. This change was probably necessary on account of the depreciation of currency.

Character of Slave Legislation. Slave legislation in Rhode Island may be divided into three classes. The first was characteristically in the interest of the master. Laws were made to prevent slaves escaping from masters, and to prevent their being absconded by masters of vessels. The second class was in the interest of the colony. Negroes were forbidden to be abroad after nine o'clock at night, security was to be given for negroes upon their being freed, strong liquors were not to be sold to them, disorderly houses kept by negroes were to be broken up, and a revenue was to be derived from the importation of slaves. The third class of legislation was that

enacted in the interests of the slave himself. This consisted of laws regulating and then abolishing the importation of slaves, and laws restricting or prohibiting the holding of slaves. Legislation of the first kind continued until active legislation began against slaveholding. The first and third forms of legislation are accordingly distinct in time, though they are not as distinct in time as they are in form, for even before it was thought necessary to legislate in the interest of the master, two laws had been placed on the statute books in the interests of the slave, namely the laws of 1652 and 1675–6. This fact leads me to believe that the interests of the owner of slaves were never considered of paramount importance except where they were one with the interests of the colony itself. The number of owners of slaves was comparatively so small, moreover, that, although their social influence was great, it could not be expected that legislation would be directed by them, and in their interests alone. The interests of the slave importer and those of the colony were, perhaps, even less nearly allied. Slavery was the life of trade, but it was not therefore necessary that slaves should be brought to Rhode Island, it was argued. So the law of 1774 must be considered not so much a blow at slave trade as a blow at the ownership of slaves in Rhode Island. The slave trade carried on by Rhode Island vessels flourished many years after this date, and slavery itself flourished for a time, but such limitations were already placed upon it as insured its final extinction. There was no emancipation proclamation, there were no distinct slavery and anti-slavery parties, but there were other anti-slavery conditions, economic, social and moral, which made the abolition of slavery in the course of events an absolute necessity.

II. SOCIAL LIFE OF THE SLAVES.

The Sale of Slaves. The social life of the slave in Rhode Island was similar to that of a servant in an old English family of that period. Our knowledge of the slave's social position and social attainments is derived largely from newspaper advertisements of the time, and from family records.

Upon the arrival of a cargo of slaves they were put up at auction by the master of the vessel, or by some merchant of the town. These auction sales were held at the old inns. October 14, 1766, a negro was advertised for sale by auction, at the Crown Coffee House opposite to the Court-House in Providence.[1] In the case of private sales of slaves the printer often acted as broker. For example, an advertisement in the Providence *Gazette*, March 4, 1775, reads, somewhat facetiously, "to be sold, a young negro girl born in this town, about 16 years of age, very active, strong and healthy. Would do exceedingly well on a farm, is good natured, has other good qualities, and like the rest of the world has some bad ones, though none very criminal."

Social Attainments. Some of these advertisements indicate considerable ability in the slaves, especially the advertisements for runaway slaves. These advertisements were often headed by the rude cut of a black man, hatless and with frizzled head, running. One advertisement in the Newport *Mercury*, November 3, 1761, speaks of an escaped negro who speaks good English, and is "very artful and insinuating." Others may be mentioned: July 9, 1763, "ran away Sarah Hammet, a lusty mulatto slave, about thirty eight, wore a dark colored camblet short wrapper, old grey petticoat very much patched, brown camblet bonnet, is polite, ingenious at drawing, embroidering, and almost any kind of curious needlework." October 16, 1773, "ran away Cæsar * * plays well on the violin."

Newport Gardner was one of the most celebrated negro characters of this time. "In his person he was tall and straight and well formed; in his manners he was dignified and unassuming." He was a man, too, of superior powers of mind. "He taught himself to read after receiving a few lessons on the elements of written language. He taught himself to sing, after receiving a very trivial initiation into the rudiments of music. He became so well acquainted with the science and art of music that he composed a large number of tunes, and was for a long time the teacher of a very numer-

[1] "R. I. Historical Tracts," No. 15, p. 207.

ously attended singing school in Newport."[1] He could also write, cipher, and speak French. His one failing in common with many other negroes was a love for drink.

Knowledge of Trades. In the trades many acquired some proficiency. The Newport *Mercury*, April 27, 1772, advertises a negro blacksmith who makes anchors; May 13, 1775, a negro who has worked in a rope-walk and spins a good thread. The Providence *Gazette*, July 28, 1770, advertises as missing "Quam, aged thirty, by trade a cooper, strayed probably in a delirious condition, is of a serious thoughtful turn of mind, and inclined to talk but little." November 7, 1775, "ran away, Guinea, a clothier by trade, sometimes pedlar of chocolat, gingerbread, Indico and sleve buttons." Advertisements often recommend servants as capable of either town or country service. Advertised wants indicate to some extent the demand. *Mercury*, February 15, 1773, "wanted two negro boys from twelve to seventeen for gentlemen in towns;" August 7, 1773, wanted, negro from sixteen to twenty-five, "free from bad smell, strait limbed, active healthy, good tempered, honest, sober, quick at apprehension, and not used to run away." These advertisements do not indicate a demand for slaves in any particular locality, or for any particular purpose other than general service. The slaves received their industrial and social training in the home of their first master, and if they learned easily and were faithful, were seldom sold. This fact, together with the fact of the increasing competition of free labor, shows why there were apparently so few slaves acquainted with the trades, and why in reality this number became less and less as the population of the colony increased.

Occupations. In the domestic work of the colonial household the slave boys were given the errands and the light service about the house. Some of the families in Providence, for example, had rain-water cisterns for their chief supply of water, "but these were few, and it fell to the lot of the boys, some of whom were negroes, to go with two pails and a hoop

[1] Ferguson's "Memoir of Hopkins," p. 90.

across the bridge for a supply at the town pump." [1] Another common watering place was the Mooshassuc, which was the only accessible fresh stream. "The murmurs of ancient inhabitants against the brawls and disturbances of boys and negroes, who, morning and evening, congregated near the mill, with their masters' cattle, assure us that the early days of Providence had a delightful experience of patriarchal manners. * * The annoyance had become so great that an act of the Assembly, 1681, was passed in order to give some check to the disturbances. By a communication in the *Gazette*, March 30, 1765, however, it appears that the nuisance was still unabated. The boys and negroes still disturbed the quiet of the Town street by 'riding in droves' to Mill River (the Mooshassuc), every morning and evening, racing as they went, without hindrance from the constables of those days." [2]

In the south country "every member of the family had his particular horse and servant, and they rarely rode unattended by their servant to open gates and to take charge of the horse." [3] In Narragansett we find that Robert Hazard had twelve negro women as dairy women, each of whom had a girl to assist her. "Each dairy maid had the care of twelve cows, and they were expected to make from one to two dozen cheeses every day." [4] Slaves were sometimes hired out when there was nothing at home for them to do. Hezekiah Coffin writes to Moses Brown, October 29, 1763, "send us word by the first opportunity what the negroes wages was, that we may settle with his master."

Care for Slaves; Amusements. The quarters of the slaves were in the garrets of the large old mansion houses and in the outhouses. They were generally comfortable, if we can judge anything from the scanty figures regarding mortality.[5]

The slaves were dressed very much as the circumstances

[1] Stone, "Life of Howland," p. 25.

[2] "R. I. Historical Tracts," No. 15, p. 57.

[3] Channing, "Early Recollections of Newport," p. 91.

[4] Higginson, "Larger History of the United States," p. 237.

[5] Newport "Mercury," December 28, 1772, gives the mortality for Newport, 1760, whites 175, blacks 52; 1772, whites 205, blacks 51.

of their masters and the nature of their occupations would permit. Advertisements of runaway slaves gave descriptions of the clothing worn at the time as a means of identification. The *Mercury*, February 23, 1773, advertises a runaway negro man "Jack, wore striped flannel shirt, buckskin breeches, dark striped waistcoat, butternut barkcolored lappelled jacket, grey homemade bearskin great coat, new with large metal buttons, one pair of blue yarn stockings, one pair black ribbed worsted stockings, calfskin turned pumps, pinchbeck buckles, felt hat." Another runaway negro is described as having taken with him several articles of apparel so as not to be described by that. This was probably true of many who ran away. For this reason the description of the clothing worn by runaways cannot be relied upon as an exact account of the clothing generally worn by slaves.

The amusements of the slaves were like those of the English servants. The old corn-huskings of Narragansett were greatly enjoyed by the negroes. For these, invitations were sent out to all the friends in the neighborhood, and in return the invited guests sent their slaves to aid the host by their services. "After the repast the recreations of dancing commenced, as every family was provided with a large hall in their spacious mansions, and with natural musicians among their slaves. These seasons of hilarity and festivity—sometimes continuing for days—were as gratifying to the slaves as to their masters, as bountiful preparations were made, and like amusements were enjoyed by them in the large kitchens and outhouses, the places of their residence."[1] Holidays were also observed by the negroes, often independently of master or mistress. "I remember," says Mr. Hazard, "when on the spacious kitchen being removed from the old John Robinson house, there were sixty ox-cart loads of beach sand taken from beneath the sleepers, which had been used to sand the floor, a large portion of which, no doubt, had been danced through the cracks by the jolly darkies of the olden time, who in some instances permitted their masters' families to be present at their Christmas and holiday pastimes as a matter of favor only." Often the distinctions between master and

[1] T. R. Hazard, "Recollections of Olden Times," p. 119.

slave disappeared altogether. "The children of the two," says Mason,[1] "grew up together. The ties thus formed were often stronger than life. The loss sustained by the master was felt by the slave, and the disappointment of the one was a matter of regret with the other. And frequently the slave, rather than see his master turned out of doors, placed at his disposal the little that he had saved of his earnings. The servant expected to work for his master as long as he was able, and when he grew old and infirm he relied on being cared for by some member of the family. In this he was rarely mistaken. Those persons who can call to mind the kitchens of a former generation will remember the old pensioners who gathered in them. * * The slaves took the names of their masters. When they were ill the family physician attended them. When the girl who first played with her young mistress and then became her maid, was about to be married, she had a becoming outfit, and the clergyman who united the daughter united the maid. And when at last death claimed a victim, black and white mingled their tears at the open grave." This care which masters had for their servants is indicated in a letter which Jabez Brown wrote to his brother Moses, September 21, 1770: "Your negro boy Pero was knocked down by a paving stone hitting him on the back part of the head. He was taken up for Dead. But by bleeding etc pretty soon came to. He seems very comfortable, this morning and am in Hopes he will get about in a few Days, the Affair was perpetrated by an Irish man a Hatter by Trade, he has Secreted himself for the Present. I shall endeavor to have him apprehended if possible."

Election Day. One of the most interesting social customs among the Rhode Island slaves was the observance of election day. "In imitation of the whites, the negroes held an annual election on the third Saturday in June, when they elected their governor. When the slaves were numerous each town held its own election. This annual festivity was looked for with great anxiety. Party was as violent and acrimonious with them as among the whites. The slaves assumed the

[1] "Reminiscences of Newport," p. 106.

power and pride, and took the relative rank of their masters, and it was degrading to the reputation of the owner if his slave appeared in inferior apparel, or with less money than the slave of another master of equal wealth. The horses of the wealthy land-owners were on this day all surrendered to the use of the slaves, and with cues real or false, head pomatumed or powdered, cocked hat, mounted on the best Narragansett pacers, sometimes with their masters' sword, with their ladies on pillions, they pranced to election, which commenced generally at ten o'clock. The canvass for votes soon commenced, the tables with refreshments were spread, and all friends of the respective candidates were solicited to partake, and as much anxiety and interest would manifest itself, and as much family pride and influence was exercised and interest created, as in other elections, and preceded by weeks of *parmateering* (parliamenteering). About one o'clock the vote would be taken, by ranging the friends of the respective candidates in two lines under the direction of a chief marshal, with assistants. This was generally a tumultuous crisis until the count commenced, when silence was proclaimed, and after that no man could change sides or go from one rank to the other. The chief marshal announced the number of votes for each candidate and in an audible voice proclaimed the name of the Governor elected for the ensuing year. The election treat corresponded in extravagance in proportion to the wealth of his master. The defeated candidate was, according to custom, introduced by the chief marshal, and drank the first toast after the inauguration, and all animosities were forgotten. At dinner the Governor was seated at the head of the long table under trees or an arbor, with the unsuccessful candidate at his right, and his lady on the left. The afternoon was spent in dancing, games of quoits, athletic exercises, etc. As the slaves decreased in number these elections became more concentrated. In 1795 elections were held in North and South Kingstown, and in a few years, one was held in South Kingstown only, and they have for years ceased." [1]

[1] Updike, "History of the Narragansett Church," p. 177.

Free Negroes. We have already spoken of the condition of the free negro during the first half of the century. In the latter half of the century the manumission of slaves was a far more common occurrence, and the number of free negroes was consequently much greater. The most conspicuous among these, beside Newport Gardner, was Emanuel, an emancipated slave of Gabriel Bernon. "Turning to account the hereditary talent of his race, he established in Providence the first oyster house of which there is any record. It was in the Town street, near the site of the Old Custom House of a later day. To satisfy the craving of a thirsty generation he provided twenty-three drinking glasses, four 'juggs,' twenty-eight glass bottles, two bowls, with pewter plates, spoons, and cooking apparatus in proportion. The knowledge which he had acquired during his former service, ensured his prosperity. He was the first of a long line of such ministers to the public wants. Dying in 1769, he left a house and lot in Stampers street (where his wife carried on the trade of washing), and personal estate valued at £539, 10s. His gravestone in the North Burying ground is as substantial a memorial as those of most of the wealthier white men of his day." [1]

III. THE CHURCH AND THE SLAVE.

Changing Attitude Toward Slavery. During the years preceding the Revolution the attitude of the church toward slavery changed materially. Negro slaves came to be regarded less as heathen and subjects for missionary effort, and more as men, with rights to equal liberties with other men. On this point, the right of slavery, the position of the church became now more clearly defined. The Church of England, the Society of Friends, and Samuel Hopkins' church, were the ecclesiastical bodies most prominent in this movement. The position of the Church of England is best determined by an inspection of the annual sermons preached before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and of the records of the same society.

[1] "R. I. Historical Tracts," No. 15, p. 177.

Church of England; Sermons. In 1755 Bishop Hayter preached the annual sermon. After showing that there could be no property in souls, he continued: "Let us administer to them the comfort of knowing, what good things God hath laid up in store for them if they act a right part, in that trying state of labor, in which God hath placed them under us. By thus alleviating their hard lot, and rendering it more easy and supportable to them we shall gain an advantage for ourselves, for it is the natural effect of such instruction to turn the eye-service of slaves into the conscientious diligence of servants. If we are not sufficiently actuated by the spirit of the gospel to be influenced by motives of humanity, let prudential reasons incline us to administer this Christian consolation to our fellow creatures, who are so strictly our property and so absolutely in our power that no one else can take upon him to help them without our leave and direction." In 1759 Bishop Ellis said: "The advantage of making good Christians even of the negro slaves, will also be very worthy of consideration. For in proportion as their obstinacy, sullenness, and eagerness for revenge shall come to be abated and altered by religion they will make better servants: And instead of needing to be always watched in order to prevent their doing mischief they may become guards and defenders of their masters, and there will be no longer any such revolts and insurrections among them as have sometimes been detrimental, if not even dangerous, to several of the colonies." In 1766 Bishop Warburton said in the course of his sermon, "The cruelty of certain planters, with respect to the temporal accommodations of these poor wretches, and the irreligious negligence with regard to their spiritual, is become a general scandal." In 1769 Bishop Newton said: "As it is now generally known and understood that Christianity maketh no alteration in men's civil rights and conditions, but every man is to abide in the same calling wherein he was called, whether to be bond or free, it is to be hoped that the proprietors and planters will be less jealous of their slaves being instructed in the true religion, which will soften and improve their manners, and make them subject not only for fear but for conscience sake, with good will doing service as to the

Lord and not to men;" still, he adds, slavery is to be much lamented.

Results. The results of this prudential reasoning upon the policy of the church in the colonies, and upon the attitude of masters toward their slaves are evident. The best illustration, perhaps, of the effect on the policy of the church, is the well known anecdote of the good elder whose ventures had uniformly turned out well, and who always returned thanks on the Sunday following the arrival of a slaver in the harbor of Newport, "that an overruling Providence had been pleased to bring to this land of freedom another cargo of benighted heathen to enjoy the blessing of a gospel dispensation."[1] In very much the same spirit Dr. Waterhouse said: "To see the negro women in their black hoods and blue aprons, walking at a respectful distance behind their master, to meeting, was not an unpleasant sight on those days." Its effect on the relations of master and slave was similar. In the earlier years of the century, as we have seen, masters were opposed to the baptism and to the education of their slaves. This opposition became less pronounced, in time, and less noticeable, and missionaries no longer made complaint of the masters. Still the number of slaves baptised did not increase perceptibly. The records of St. John's Church, Providence, then King's Church, show that three slaves were baptised in 1758, three in 1759, one in 1760, two in 1762, one in 1764, two in 1765, one in 1766, and two in 1775. The reports of Trinity Church, Newport, show in 1763 one baptism, in 1765 one. In the latter year the total number of communicants was 120, seven of whom were blacks, "who," the report says, "behave in a manner truly exemplary and praiseworthy."

Education. Efforts made to educate the slaves were not more successful. In 1731 there had been a bequest of land and four hundred pounds to build a school-house in Newport. January 9, 1763, the Reverend Marmaduke Browne, rector of Trinity Church, wrote the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and said that at the instance of the

[1] G. C. Mason, in "American Historical Record," I., 312.

associates of the late Dr. Bray, and with the hearty concurrence of the society he had opened a school for the instruction of negro children. This school, he said, was to consist of fifteen of each sex, was to be under his inspection, and would, he trusted, answer the intentions of the charitable persons concerned in it. August 3, 1772, the Newport *Mercury* gave notice of "a school opened by Mrs. Mary Brett, at her home, for the instruction of thirty negro children gratis, in reading, sewing, etc., agreeable to a benevolent institution of a company of gentlemen in London. N. B., satisfaction will be given to those who may send their young blacks." These three records are probably made respecting one institution, but whether they are or not, the fact that masters did little to encourage the education of their slaves cannot be doubted, especially in view of a subsequent item in the *Mercury*. This appeared March 29, 1773, and stated that on account of the difficulty in getting thirty negro children for the school, the project would be given up in six months if still unsuccessful.

Quakers. In contrast with the calculative philosophy which actuated the dominant thought, both economic and political and religious, of the time, stood the faith and activity of the Society of Friends. The Friends acted rather upon grounds of principle than for prudential reasons. They did not question so much as to whether slaves should be admitted to church membership and education, but fundamentally as to whether they should be free.

In 1729 the practice of importing negroes was censured. In 1758 a rule was adopted prohibiting Friends within the limits of the New England Yearly Meeting from engaging in or countenancing the foreign slave trade.[1] In 1760 John Woolman visited the yearly meeting held in Newport. "He saw the horrible traffic in human beings,—the slave ships lying at the wharves of the town,—the sellers and buyers of men and women and children thronging the market place. The same abhorrent scenes which a few years after stirred the spirit of the excellent Hopkins to denounce the slave trade and slavery as hateful in the sight of God to his con-

[1] Whittier's introduction to John Woolman's "Journal," p. 9.

gregation at Newport, were enacted in the full view and hearing of the annual convocation of Friends, many of whom were themselves partakers in the shame and wickedness." [1] "The great number of slaves in these parts," says Woolman, "and the continuance of that trade from thence to Guinea, made a deep impression on me, and my cries were often put up to my Heavenly Father in secret, that he would enable me to discharge my duty faithfully in such way as he might be pleased to point out to me. * * * Understanding that a large number of slaves had been imported from Africa into that town, and were then on sale by a member of our society, my appetite failed, and I grew outwardly weak and had a feeling of the condition of Habakkuk, as thus expressed: 'When I heard, my belly trembled, my lips quivered, I trembled in myself, that I might rest in the day of trouble.' I had many cogitations and was sorely distressed. I was desirous that Friends might petition the Legislature to use their endeavors to discourage the future importation of slaves, for I saw that this trade was a great evil, and tended to multiply troubles, and to bring distresses on the people for whose welfare my heart was deeply concerned. But I perceived several difficulties in regard to petitioning, and such was the exercise of my mind that I thought of endeavoring to get an opportunity to speak a few words in the House of Assembly, then sitting in town. This exercise came upon me in the afternoon on the second day of the Yearly Meeting, and on going to bed I got no sleep till my mind was wholly resigned thereto. In the morning I inquired of a Friend how long the Assembly was likely to continue sitting, who told me it was expected to be prorogued that day or the next. As I was desirous to attend the business of the meeting, and perceived the Assembly was likely to separate before the business was over, after considerable exercise, humbly seeking to the Lord for instruction, my mind settled to attend on the business of the meeting; on the last day of which I had prepared a short essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way opened. And being informed that there were some appointed by that Yearly Meeting to speak with

[1] Whittier's introduction to John Woolman's "Journal," pp. 25, 26.

those in authority on cases relating to the Society, I opened my mind to several of them, and showed them the essay I had made, and afterwards I opened the case in the meeting for business, in substance as follows:

"'I have been under a concern for some time on account of the great number of slaves which are imported into this colony. I am aware that it is a tender point to speak to, but apprehend I am not clear in the sight of Heaven without doing so. I have prepared an essay of a petition to be presented to the Legislature, if way open; and what I have to propose to this meeting is that some Friends may be named to withdraw and look over it, and report whether they believe it suitable to be read in the meeting. If they should think well of reading it, it will remain for the meeting to consider whether to take any further notice of it, as a meeting, or not.' After a short conference some Friends went out, and looking over it, expressed their willingness to have it read, which being done, many expressed their unity with the proposal, and some signified that to have the subjects of the petition enlarged upon, and signed out of meeting by such as were free, would be more suitable than to do it there."[1]

Action by the Quakers; Sentiment Against the Slave Trade. As a result of the words of Woolman, the London Epistle for 1758, condemning the unrighteous traffic in men, was read, and the substance of it embodied in the discipline of the meeting as follows: "We fervently warn all in profession with us that they be careful to avoid being any way concerned in reaping the unrighteous profits of that unrighteous practice of dealing in negroes and other slaves; whereby in the original purchase one man selleth another as he does the beast that perishes, without any better pretension to a property in him than that of superior force, in direct violation of the gospel rule, which teaches every one to do as he would be done by, and to do good unto all; being the reverse of that covetous disposition which furnishes encouragement to those poor, ignorant people to perpetuate their savage wars, in order to supply the demands of this most unnatural traffic, whereby

[1] Woolman's "Journal," pp. 162–5.

great numbers of mankind, free by nature, are subjected to inextricable bondage, and which hath often been observed to fill their possessors with haughtiness and tyranny, luxury and barbarity, corrupting the minds and debasing the morals of their children, to the unspeakable prejudice of religion and virtue and the exclusion of that holy spirit of universal love, meekness, and charity, which is the unchangeable nature and the glory of true Christianity. We therefore can do no less than with the greatest earnestness impress it upon Friends everywhere that they endeavor to keep their hands clear of this unrighteous gain of oppression. * * It is also recommended to Friends who have slaves in possession to treat them with tenderness, impress God's fear on their minds, promote their attending places of religious worship and give those that are young at least so much learning that they may be capable of reading."

The following query was adopted in agreement with the foregoing, to be answered by the subordinate meetings: "Are Friends clear of importing negroes, or buying them when imported; and do they use those well, where they are possessed by inheritance or otherwise, endeavoring to train them up in principles of religion?"

At the close of the yearly meeting John Woolman called together some of the leading members about Newport who held slaves. "About the eighth hour the next morning," says he, "we met in the meeting-house chamber, the last mentioned country Friend, my companion, and John Storer, [1] being with us. After a short time of retirement, I acquainted them with the steps I had taken in procuring that meeting, and opened the concern I was under, and we then proceeded to a free conference upon the subject. My exercise was heavy, and I was deeply bowed in spirit before the Lord, who was pleased to favor with the seasoning virtue of truth, which wrought a tenderness amongst us; and the subject was mutually handled in a calm and peaceable spirit. At length, feeling my mind released from the burden which I had been under, I took my leave of them in a good degree of satisfac-

[1] John Storer was from England. It was probably through him that the London letter was introduced.

tion ; and by the tenderness they manifested in regard to the practice, and the concern several of them expressed in relation to the manner of disposing of their negroes after their decease, I believed that a good exercise was spreading amongst them." [1]

In 1769 the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting proposed to the Yearly Meeting such an amendment of the query of 1760 as should not imply that the holding of slaves was allowed. This was an important step, for before this no one had gone farther than to censure the importing of slaves. The Yearly Meeting, accordingly, was not ready to do more than express its sense of the wrongfulness of holding slaves, and appoint a committee to visit those members who were concerned in keeping slaves, and endeavor to persuade them from the practice.

June 7, 1770, the committee appointed at the previous yearly meeting announced that they had visited most of the members belonging to the Yearly Meeting who possessed slaves, "had labored with them respecting setting such at liberty that were suitable for freedom, and that their visits mostly seemed to be kindly accepted. Some Friends manifested a disposition to set such at liberty as were suitable, some others, not having so clear a light of such an unreasonable servitude as could be desired, were unwilling to comply with the advice given them at present, yet seemed willing to take it into consideration, a few others which we have with sorrow to remark were mostly of the Elder sort manifested a disposition to keep them still in continued state of bondage."

An example of the first class of men is to be found in the records of the South Kingstown monthly meeting for 1757, when "This meeting Received a paper of Richard Smith as his testimony against Keeping Slaves and his Intention to free his negro girl which paper he hath a mind to lay before the Quarterly meeting all which is Referred for further consideration." [2] These persons freed their slaves either of their own accord or at the first suggestion from Friends, but per-

[1] Woolman's "Journal," pp. 167–8.

[2] MS. Records of South Kingstown Monthly Meeting, I., 82, quoted by Miss Caroline Hazard, "College Tom," p. 169.

sons of the third class who were possessed with the ideas of the previous century were very slow about manumitting their slaves. "One of the Rodmans, a few years later, was in trouble over a slave. He was condemned by his own meeting, but appealed to the quarterly meeting, which confirmed the judgement of the monthly meeting given against him, 'on account of his buying a negro slave,' and 'it is the mind of friends that there ought to go out a publick Testimony & Denial' of the purchaser, which was accordingly done, and a solemn 'paper of frd[s] Testimony of Disowning' was read at the end of a First-day meeting."[1] Another famous slave case was that of the Rathbuns, which was before the Kingstown monthly meeting eight years. Joshua Rathbun, having bought a slave, is brought to confess his error, as follows:

"WESTERLY the 27th of y[e] 12 mo 1765

To the monthly meeting of friends to be held at Richmond next

DEAR FRIENDS. I hereby acknowledge that I have acted Disorderly in purchasing a Negro Slave which Disorder I was Ignorant of, at the time of the purchase, but having conversed with several friends upon the Subject of Slavery have gained a Knowledge that heretofore I was Ignorant of, both as to the Rules of our Society, as well as the nature & inconsistancy of making Slaves of our fellow Creatures, am therefore free to condemn that Inconsiderate act and Desire Friends to pass it by, hoping that I may be preserved from all conduct that may bring Uneasiness Upon friends for the future am willing likewise to take the advice of Friends both as to the bringing up and Discharging of the Afores[d] negro.

JOSHUA RATHBUN."[2]

This, as Miss Hazard justly says, expressed very clearly what must have been the general feeling of the day in regard to slavery, and sounds like an honest change of heart. Yet half a dozen years later it appears that Rathbun had assigned the negro girl to his son, who had promised to free her at a suitable time, but had afterward sold her out of the colony. He had done this without his father's consent; but the father had not mentioned the matter to Friends. The son was read out of the meeting, and the father advised to proceed against

[1] Miss Hazard, "College Tom," p. 170.

[2] Records of Meeting, quoted by Miss Hazard, p. 171.

him. As he did not, the meeting heretofore held at his house was discontinued, and finally he also was denied his membership.[1]

This incident shows the untiring effort of Friends toward the abolition of slavery in its very stronghold, nor did it cease with a few cases. John Knowles and Stephen Richmond in 1771 "Appears of a disposition to comply with friends rules in liberating their slaves." Three Friends "discovers something of a Disposition to comply," while four "Did Shew the Contrary Disposition." They were informed on the 29th of 7th mo., 1771, that all who did not free their slaves may 'expect to be Denied Membership.' Two months afterward a sturdy Friend appeared in meeting and 'saith that he shall not comply with the Rules of the Society, Respecting his Slaves to Liberate them,' and he and three others are therefore denied membership. On the "28th of 6th mo., 1773, Fr^{ds} Appointed to Visit Slave Keepers made report that they don't find their is any held as Slaves by Fr^{ds} and there are some y^{t} are set at Liberty and no proper manuamission given therefore said committee are continued to see that they are manuamitted and make report thereof as soon as they conveniently can."[2]

Let us now turn again to the proceedings of the Yearly Meeting in 1770. We have seen that the committee appointed in 1769 to visit Friends who were owners of slaves reported at the meeting in 1770 the completion of their task. Another committee was accordingly appointed to consider the expediency of making the alteration in the tenth query proposed by the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting the previous year. At an adjourned session the committee proposed the following: "Are Friends clear of importing, buying, or any ways disposing of negroes as slaves, and do they use those well that are under their care, not in circumstances through nonage or incapacity to be at liberty,—and do they give those that are young such an education as becomes Christians and are the others encouraged in a religious and virtuous life, and are all

[1] "College Tom," pp. 172-176.

[2] Miss Hazard, p. 176, quoting Records of South Kingstown Monthly Meeting.

set at liberty that are of age, capacity and abilities suitable for freedom?" The query as thus read, was approved and recommended to the several quarterly and monthly meetings with the exhortation "that they take care it be duly complied with."

The epistle from this meeting to the Friends in London reads as follows: "This meeting hath been under a weighty concern for some time on account of enslaving and keeping in bondage our fellow creatures, and after much exercise and deep travail of spirit on that account have come to this conclusion that Friends ought to be no ways concerned in importing, buying or any ways disposing of negroes as slaves, and that they set all at liberty that are of age, capacity and ability suitable for freedom."

Progress of the Movement; Sentiment Against Slaveholding. The next information we have as to the progress of this movement among the Friends in Rhode Island is found in their epistle to the London Meeting dated June 12, 1772. It reads as follows: "We also have to inform that the conclusion this meeting came to some time past respecting the enslaved negro, we are gradually endeavoring to affect, and have the satisfaction to inform that a few friends amongst us have freed them from their bondage, and with sorrow that some have been so reluctant hereto that they have been disowned for not complying with the advice of this meeting in that respect." In 1773 another epistle similar to that of 1769 was sent from the Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting to the Yearly Meeting proposing the freeing of all slaves. It read as follows: "It is our sense and judgment that truth not only requires the young of capacity and ability, but likewise the aged and impotent, and also all in a state of infancy and nonage among Friends, be discharged and set free from a state of slavery; that we do no more claim property in the human race, as we do in the brutes that perish, notwithstanding it is to be understood that the aged and impotent and also infants and those in their nonage be provided for, brought up and instructed as required by our 10th query."

In accordance with this recommendation the Yearly Meet-

ing amended the tenth query as follows: "Are Friends clear of importing or in any ways purchasing, disposing of or holding mankind as slaves; and are all those who have been held in a state of slavery discharged therefrom; and do they use those well who are under their care, that are in circumstances through nonage or incapacity to minister to their own necessities and not set fully at liberty, and do they give those that are young such an education as becomes Christians and are the others encouraged in a religious and virtuous life?"

The epistle to the London meeting for this year reports the following progress: "We also inform that Friends' labor for the freedom of the enslaved negroes is still continued, and some Friends have manumitted them, others give encouragement of taking Friends' advice to free them, and when there hath appeared unrelenting obstinacy some such have been disowned since last year." The Epistle to the London meeting dated June 14, 1774, was written in very much the same spirit. It says: "By accounts brought into the meeting it appears that several among us have manumitted their slaves since last year, and some encouragement is given to expect the freedom of others, so that we are in hopes that those who have hitherto neglected it may be prevailed upon to let the oppressed go free." Their hopes were not without reason, for by 1782 no slaves were known to be held in the New England Yearly Meeting.[1]

These facts indicate that fourteen years before general colonial action was taken the importation of slaves was forbidden by the Society of Friends among its members, and fifteen years before a colonial law was made against the ownership of slaves, measures were taken by the Friends to abolish it, at once and altogether. The influence of such procedure can scarcely be over-estimated. The strong social influence of the Friends, and the high moral character of their faith and of their activity, both tended to produce a strong impression upon the thought and activity of the community.

Other Ecclesiastical Bodies; Samuel Hopkins. There were no other ecclesiastical bodies so well organized in Rhode

[1] Whittier, introduction to Woolman's "Journal," p. 28.

Island as the English Church and the Society of Friends, accordingly other efforts toward the amelioration of the conditions of the slave or toward his emancipation were made by individual churches.

In Dr. Stiles' church at Newport there were, among eighty communicants in 1770, seven negroes. "These occasionally met by his direction in his study where," says his biographer,[1] "he discoursed to them on the great things of the divine life and eternal salvation; counselling and encouraging them, and earnestly pressing them to make their calling and election sure, and to walk worthily of their holy profession. Then falling on their knees together, he poured out fervent supplication at the throne of grace, imploring the divine blessing upon them, and commending himself and them to the Most High."

The most prominent clergyman, however, connected with the movement inaugurated by the Friends, was Dr. Stiles' opponent in theology, Dr. Samuel Hopkins. Some time after the settlement of Dr. Hopkins in Newport he "became impressed with the state of the town in reference to the slave trade. There were some conscientious exceptions, but it was the general employment of men of business, so as to be the source of the support and prosperity of the people. There were more than thirty distilleries in operation, and more than an hundred and fifty vessels engaged in prosecuting the trade."[2] Newport was at this time the most important "mart for slaves offered for sale in the north, and the point from which they were shipped to southern parts if not taken directly there from the coast of Africa. If, too, a Dutchman in New York wanted a few slaves to work his land, he opened a correspondence with a Newport merchant, or if the market was dull in Newport, a portion of the cargo was sent to Boston."[3]

Cargoes of slaves were often landed near the church and home of Dr. Hopkins. His congregation was deeply involved in the guilt of slave trading and slave holding. "On

[1] Holmes, "Life of Ezra Stiles," p. 157.

[2] Patten, "Life of Hopkins," p. 80.

[3] Geo. C. Mason in "American Historical Record," I., 344.

the subject of emancipation, Dr. Hopkins was an advocate for slaves remaining quietly and peaceably in bondage, and diligently and faithfully performing as unto God the labors of their station, whether to masters who were kind and indulgent, or to those who were froward and severe; till there might be an opportunity in divine Providence for them to become loyally and with the consent of their masters, free." [1] This opportunity Dr. Hopkins sought to bring about. He visited from house to house and urged masters to free their slaves; he also preached several times against slavery, between 1770 and 1776. "His sermons offended a few, and made them permanently his enemies. One wealthy family left his congregation in disgust; but the majority of his hearers were astonished that they of themselves had not long before seen and felt the truths which he disclosed to them," [2] and a few years later, as a church, passed this resolution, "that the slave trade and the slavery of Africans, as it has existed among us, is a gross violation of the righteousness and benevolence which are so much inculcated in the gospel, and therefore we will not tolerate it in this church."

Dr. Hopkins, further, took a deep religious interest in the slave as well as an interest in his emancipation. Soon after his installation at Newport in 1770, he formed a plan for sending the gospel to Africa. After he had matured it in his own mind, he communicated it to Dr. Stiles. About this, Dr. Stiles records in his diary, April 8, 1773, "Yesterday Mr. Hopkins came to see me and discourse with me on a design he is meditating, to make some negro ministers and send them to Guinea. * * * There are two negro men communicants in his church, that he is disposed to train up for this end. The one is Quamine, [3] a free negro, and the other Yamma, a servant. * * He wants, therefore, to contrive that these two negroes should be taken under tui-

[1] Patten, p. 82.

[2] Park, "Life of Hopkins," p. 116.

[3] Quamine had been delivered about 1750 by his father to a sea captain to bring him to Rhode Island for an education. After sending him to school a while the captain sold him for a slave. *Stiles' Literary Diary, April 13, 1773*, quoted by Park.

tion, perfected in reading the scriptures, and taught systematical divinity, and so ordained and sent forth. * * Mr. Hopkins desired me to talk with Quamine, and examine his abilities, which I said I was ready to do." Another record, dated April 13, contains the following: "Last evening Quamine came to see me, to discourse upon the scheme of his becoming a minister. * * He reads but indifferently; not freely but slowly, yet distinctly, and pretty accurately. * * He has had but little time for reading; seldom any but Lord's days. I did not try him as to writing, but he said he had begun to write last winter. He is pretty judicious but not communicative and I am doubtful whether he would be apt to teach. He certainly wants much improvement to qualify him for the gospel ministry, if indeed such a thing were advisable."

The two men, though ill prepared in many respects, "still retained a Knowledge of their native language, and were intelligent, discreet and pious." The two pastors, therefore, finally decided to give them the necessary education, and to this end issued a circular dated August 31, 1773, and signed by them, and distributed it among the churches of Massachusetts and Connecticut. This circular stated that Bristol Yamma was fifty dollars in debt because he had not been able to purchase his freedom under two hundred dollars, that he must procure this by his own labor unless relieved by the charity of others, and that for this reason, both to pay this debt and to support the two men at school, money was desired. To this appeal immediate and encouraging response was made, and the next year the two negroes were sent to Princeton for instruction.[1]

The Unorthodoxy of Reform. Another plan formulated by Dr. Hopkins a few years later, for the colonization of Africa, shows the breadth of his intelligence and sympathies. Yet it is a curious fact that, respecting both him and the Friends, it was the unorthodox party that did most for the slave. The utilitarian philosophy was everywhere prevalent. In the

[1] This project was given up at the opening of the war because of the removal of Dr. Hopkins and the lack of money.

church, it was, quite naturally, formulated in Biblical terms, so that it seemed truly to have a divine sanction. The philosophy of the church was the same as that of the time, it was only the expression of it that was different. With this philosophy, however, Hopkins and the Quakers seem to have broken as the Methodists did in England about the same time. It was, perhaps, their ability to think away the formulas of the dominant party that enabled them to discover what they thought to be a universal right to freedom, and further to believe in it, and act upon it. And, if it is agreed that it was the unorthodox party in Rhode Island that brought about the abolition of the slave trade and the emancipation of the slave, we may go farther and say that it was because Rhode Island was from the first quite unorthodox and independent, that she was the first among those prominently engaged in the slave trade, to abolish the trade and emancipate the slave.

Moral and Economic Reasons for the Decay of Slavery. That there were economic reasons for the decay of slavery in Rhode Island, is very true, but it is also true that before the Revolution these reasons, in part were not recognized, and in part did not exist. Slavery was still the life of trade, many of the most influential citizens and planters still owned slaves, and private individuals often engaged in small ventures in this profitable business. For example, in 1762 a hogshead of rum was sent to the coast and the following receipt was given for it: "Newport, April 24th, 1762. Received on Board the sloop Friendship, one Hoggd Rum, marked W. H. No. 2 which on my arrival on the Coast of Africa, I promise to dispose of on the Best Terms & Invest the proceeds in Negro man slave and ship back the first convenient opportunity, on the proper account & risk of William Gifford, per me William Hudson."[1]

In spite then of the economic value of slavery up to the time of the Revolution, anti-slavery sentiment increased in force and was throughout the history of the colony so strong that Potter in his report to the legislature in 1840 dared

[1] Geo. C. Mason, in "American Historical Record," I., 344.

even to say that slavery was never countenanced by the legislature, perhaps never by public opinion.

But while it was for moral reasons that the slave trade and slavery were abolished in Rhode Island as early as they were, and in Rhode Island earlier than in the other colonies referred to, it was for economic and prudential reasons that the slave trade in Rhode Island was abolished before slavery, and the final abolition of slavery in the colony took the form it did. The law of 1774 against the importation of slaves into Rhode Island affected the slave trade but little. The only real difference was, that Rhode Island merchants sold their slave cargoes in other ports, especially the southern ports, where already the market was becoming much more valuable. The profit still continued to come largely to Rhode Island, if the slaves did not. For economic as well as for moral reasons, therefore, the law of 1774 was made possible. It did not affect so large a class of people as the later law against the ownership of slaves, nor did it affect even that class seriously. Its motive and spirit satisfied the moral demand, its form and letter satisfied the economic. But while this measure was not so important nor so far-reaching in its results, the law of 1784 against the ownership of slaves was quite important, and the forces which determined its enactment as a law were strong and numerous. We must now examine what was more distinctively the anti-slavery agitation which led up to the act of 1784.

IV. ANTI-SLAVERY AGITATION.

Anti-Slavery Literature. Much has already been said of the attitude of the church toward slavery, and the consequent abolition of the slave trade, in Rhode Island. The moral force thus aroused was also one of the strongest influences against the institution of slavery; but there was beside this and in addition to the organized effort of the church, an anti-slavery literature and the voluntary efforts of individuals.

Some of this anti-slavery pamphlet literature was made up of the sermons before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which have already been mentioned.

Besides these there appeared in 1762, "Considerations on Keeping Negroes," by John Woolman. "Some of these pamphlets," he writes, "I sent to my acquaintance at Newport." In this paper he says: "When trade is carried on productive of much misery, and they who suffer by it are many thousand miles off, the danger is the greater of not laying their sufferings to heart. In procuring slaves on the coast of Africa, many children are stolen privately; wars are encouraged among the negroes; but all is at a great distance. Many groans arise from dying men which we hear not. Many cries are uttered by widows and fatherless children which reach not our ears. Many cheeks are wet with tears, and faces sad with unuttered grief, which we see not. Cruel tyranny is encouraged. The hands of robbers are strengthened. * * Were we for the term of one year only to be eyewitnesses of what passeth in getting these slaves; were the blood that is there shed to be sprinkled on our garments; were the poor captives, bound with thongs, and heavily laden with elephants' teeth to pass before our eyes on the way to the sea; were their bitter lamentations, day after day, to ring in our ears, and their mournful cries in the night to hinder us from sleeping,—were we to behold and hear these things, what pious heart would not be deeply affected with sorrow?"[1]

May 14, 1768, the Newport *Mercury* contained an extract from the Boston *Evening Post*. The burden of this article was similar to that of Woolman's essay; that while seeking liberty themselves, the colonists ought not to enslave others, and that masters ought to do to slaves as they would have slaves do to them. March 21, 1772, the Providence *Gazette* contained an advertisement for "proposals for printing by subscription a dissuasion to Great Britain and her colonies from the slave trade to Africa, shewing the Contradiction that the Trade bears to Laws divine and provincial; the Disadvantage arising from it, and Advantage from abolishing it, both to Europe and America, particularly to Britain and her Plantations; also shewing how to put the trade to Africa on a just and lawful Footing, By Jonas Swan, a Friend to the Welfare of the Continent." The Newport *Mercury*, Decem-

[1] Whittier's Woolman's "Journal," pp. 38–39.

ber 4, 1773, contained "Observations on slave Keeping, an extract from a pamphlet printed in Philadelphia," probably John Woolman's. September 24, 1774, the same paper contained "reflections on slave keeping," also from Woolman's pamphlet; and on January 28, 1775, it printed a poem entitled, "To the dealers in slaves." March 4, 1775, the *Gazette* advertised a pamphlet by the editor, John Carter, for sale at the distill house. The title of this pamphlet was: "The potent enemies of America laid open, being some account of the baneful effects attending the use of distilled spirituous liquors and the slavery of the negroes." August 26, in the same year, the following communication was sent to the printer of the Providence *Gazette:* "Please to insert the following resolve of the Provincial convention for the large and populous county of Worcester in the Massachusetts bay, which may serve to show that while America is conflicting for the greatest of human blessings, liberty, the members of that benevolent body are not inattentive to the cause of the poor enslaved African." Then follow the Worcester resolves.

Object and Success of Agitation. Of these pamphlets and newspaper articles it is remarkable that only one treats of the slave trade. The real point of discussion was not the slave trade, but the principle involved in both the trade and the ownership in slaves. If the negro was a man and not a chattel, the only logical conclusion was that he must be treated as such. For years he had been, tacitly at least, recognized as a man, now he must be explicitly recognized and treated as such. A number of times, as we have seen, this feeling manifested itself and resulted in the manumission of slaves by their masters. These cases of manumission became much more numerous just before the war. The records of these are to be found in many town clerks' offices.

March 14, 1753, Obadiah Brown makes his will as follows: "My will is and I do hereby Order that my negro man Adam serve one whole year after my decease and after such one years servis to be free. I give him my said negro Adam 20 acres of land to be laid of on the North west corner of my farm in Gloucester." The will of John Field, dated June 26,

1754, was this: "As to my negro man Jeffery I do hereby order and my will is that he shall Chuse which of my Children or Grandchildren he shall think proper to live with, and so far give him his time as to chuse any of them, or any other Person as he thinks proper to take him—provided, that they he shall so chuse, give Bond to Keep my Heirs, Executors and Administrators from all Cost, Charge and Trouble that shall from thence accrue by reason of said negro, Jeffry's Maintainence, and in case none of my children shall see cause to accept of said Negroe, then he shall be kept and maintained by my executors hereafter named." A will of Casco le Favor, free negro, dated November 9, 1762, reads as follows: "In the first place, I confirm and grant unto my Beloved wife, Judith, her Freedom, willing and requiring that she may enjoy the same without any Lett or Molestation." The will of Richard Browne, October 30, 1765, provides that his girl Phillis be freed after she is forty years old, his girl Sylvia at his decease, his girl Anna at forty, his old negro women not to be sold out of the family, his boy Peter to be freed at forty-five. The will of John Merrett, November 24, 1769, was: "I desire and direct my executors that if my Negro woman, Frank, be living at the time of my decease, a sum of money be given by them to some good honest person to take all kind care of her during her life, that she may be treated with all humanity and tenderness, she having been a very faithful servant, and if my negro man, Tom, may be thought by my executors, of ability sufficient to take care of himself, that they give him his freedom, if not that they dispose of him to a master to his own content, and touching the rest of my negroes that they may be disposed of so that there is good appearance of their passing the remainder of their days comfortable."

Will of Moses Brown. Our discussion would be incomplete without a notice of the will of Moses Brown. This was dated November 10, 1773, and read as follows: "Whereas I am clearly convinced that the Buying and Selling of Men of what Colour Soever as Slaves is Contrary to the Divine Mind Manifest in the Conscience of all Men, however some may

smother and neglect its Reproveings, and being also made Sensible that the Holding Negroes in Slavery, however Kindly Treated by their Masters, has a Great Tendency to Incourage the Iniquitous Traffick and Practice of Importing them from their Native Country, and is contrary to that Justice, Mercy and Humility Injoined as the Duty of every Christian ; I Do therefore by these presents for my Self my Heirs etc Manumitt and set Free the following Negroes being all I am Possessed of or am any ways Interested in Viz. Bonno a.1 african aged about 34 years, Cæsar aged 32 years, Cudjo aged 27 years Born in this colony, Prince an African aged about 25 years, Pero an African aged about 18 years, Pegg born in this town aged 20 years. And One Quater being the part I own of the three Following Africans viz. Yarrow aged about 40 years, Tom aged about 30 years, and Newport aged about 21 years. And a child Phillis aged about Two Years born in my Family she having the same Natural Right, I hereby give her the same power as my own children to take and use her Freedom, Injoining upon my Heirs a careful watch over her for her Good and that they in case I be taken hence give her suitable education or if she be bound out that they take care in that and in all other respects as much as to white children, hereby expressly prohibiting my Self and my Heirs from Assuming any further power over a property in her. And as all prudent men lay up in Times of health and strength so much of their Honest earnings as is over and above their needful expenses for Clothing etc so it is my direction and advice to you that you deposit in my Hands such a part of your Wages as is not from Time to Time Wanted, taking my Receipt therefore, to put to Interest and to apply it for your Support when through Sickness or otherwise you may be unable to Support Your Selves, or to be applyd to the Use of your Children (if Free) and if not to the purchasing their Freedom and if not wanted for these Useses to be given in your Wills to such Persons or for such use as you may think proper. And for your encouragement to such Sober Prudence and Industry I hereby give to the first Six Named (the other three having good Trades) the use of one acre of Land as marked off on my Farm as long as you improve it to good purpose. I now no longer consider you as

slaves nor myself as your Master but your Friend and so long as you behave well may you expect my further countenance, support and assistance. And as you will consider this as an instrument of extending your Liberty so I hope you will always remember and practice this my earnest desire and advice that accompanys it, that you use not the liberty hereby granted you to Licenciousness, nor take ocation or opportunity thereby to go into or practice the lusts of the flesh, the lusts of the eye or pride on any ocation or Temptation, but be more consious than heretofore and with love serve one another and all men, not only to please Men but as fearing and reverancing that Holy God who sees all the secret actions of men And receive your liberty with a humble sense of its being a Favor from the Great King of Heaven and Earth who through his Light that shines upon the consciences of all men, Black as well as white, and thereby sheweth us what is Good, and that the Lord's requirings of each of us to do Justice, to have Mercy and to walk humbly with our God is the cause of this my duty to you, be therefore watchful and attentive to that divine teaching in your own minds that convinces you of sin and as you dutifully obey the enlightenings and teachings it will not only cause you to avoid profaneness and wickedness, as stealing, lying, swearing, drinking, lusting after women, frolicking and the like sinful courses but will teach you and lead you into all that is necessary for you to know, as your duty to the great master of all men, for he has said respecting mankind—universally, I will put my law into their inward parts, and write it in their hearts and they shall All Know me from the least, to the greatest, and therefore you can't plead ignorance that you don't know your duty to the God that made you, because you can't all read his mind and will in the scriptures, which is indeed a great Favor and Blessing to them that can understand and obey. But there is a Book within you that is not confined to the English or any language, and as you silently and reverently wait for its openings and instantly it will teach you and you will be enabled to understand its language and as you are careful to be obedient thereto and often silently read it, you will be able to speak its language with African as well as English tongues to your poor Fellow countrymen To the glory of

him who has wrought your deliverance from slavery to whose gracious care and protection I commit and fervently recommend you and bid you farewell."[1]

The occasion of this will of Moses Brown, as well as its nature, is curious. It was after "returning from the grave of his wife, and meditating upon the Lord's mercies and favors, and seeking to know what the Divine will was concerning him;" he says, "I saw my slaves with my spiritual eyes as plainly as I see you now, and it was given me as clearly to understand that the sacrifice that was called for of my hand was to give them their liberty."[2]

Another will, dated August 1, 1775, made by Eve Bernon, provides for the emancipation of her woman Amey, and the latter's son Marmy, and their keep in case they become disabled through sickness or otherwise.

The Movement in Narragansett. These manumissions we have recorded were mostly confined to Providence. There were also manumissions, as we have seen, in the cases of Friends in Newport and in the Narragansett country. Thomas Hazard, "perhaps the first man of much influence in New England," says his biographer, "who labored in behalf of the African race, when a young man on coming home from college was set by his father to oversee the negroes whilst they were engaged under a scorching sun in cultivating a field of corn. As he sat reading in the shade of a tree his mind went out in sympathy toward the poor slaves who were thus forced to labor for others in the heat of the sun, when he himself could scarcely keep comfortable while quietly sitting in the shade. This led to a train of thought that finally resulted in a conviction that it was wrong to hold slaves," and when he was being established by his father he refused the slaves that were offered him.[3]

A similar anecdote is told of another Narragansett magnate, Rowland Robinson: "Previous to establishing his house-

[1] Probate Records, VI., 73.

[2] Augustine Jones, "Moses Brown: a Sketch," p. 13.

[3] "Recollections of Olden Times," T. R. Hazard, p. 102. Miss Caroline Hazard, "College Tom," pp. 42–44, gives another story of the causes of his conversion.

hold Mr. Robinson engaged with others of his friends in sending a vessel from Franklin Ferry to the Guinea coast for slaves, out of his portion of which he proposed to select most of his domestic servants and farming hands and dispose of the remainder by sale as was the custom in those days. Up to the time of the return of the vessel—such was the force of education and habit—the cruelty and injustice involved in the slave trade seemed never to have entered Mr. Robinson's mind, but now when he saw the forlorn, woebegone looking men and women disembarking, some of them too feeble to stand alone, the enormity of his offence against humanity presented itself so vividly to his susceptible mind that he wept like a child, nor would he consent that a single slave that fell to his share—twenty-eight in all—should be sold, but took them all to his own house, where though held in servitude they were kindly cared for." [1]

Conclusion. These were the conditions and the modifications of slavery in Rhode Island during a part of the last century. We have seen that the church largely determined the *status* of the slave, and that the economic conditions of the colony determined the *extent* of slavery. We have seen the growth of the sentiment against slavery, and its first result in the abolition of the slave trade. In the next few years this sentiment was strengthened by the anti-slavery agitation in England and the other colonies, and by the revolutionary spirit, and in 1784 an act was passed which provided that all children born of slave mothers after the first of March should be free, and that the introduction of slaves for sale upon any pretext whatever should be forbidden.[2]

[1] "Recollections of Olden Times," T. R. Hazard, p. 121.

Higginson's version of this story is as follows: "Rowland Robinson, said impulsively one day, 'I have not servants enough, fetch me some from Guinea.' Upon this the master of a small packet of 20 tons belonging to Mr. Robinson, fitted her out at once, set sail for Guinea and brought home eighteen slaves, one of whom was a King's son. His employer burst into tears on their arrival, his order not having been seriously given." *Larger History of the United States, pp. 237–8.*

[2] Rhode Island's legislation respecting slavery in the period from 1775 to 1785 has been treated in an essay by Dr. Jeffrey R. Brackett, entitled "The Status of the Slave, 1775–1789," in a volume of "Essays in the Constitutional History of the United States," edited by Professor J. F. Jameson.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

A desire has been expressed that an opportunity be furnished through the medium of this publication to solicit and secure information on certain subjects that are clearly within the scope and aims of this Society. In response to this request, which is largely represented by persons interested in genealogical pursuits, a few pages will hereafter be devoted to Notes and Queries. The usefulness and success of this department of the Quarterly will depend on the practical manifestations of interest in the experiment.

The next number of the publication will contain: 1. A copy of an original communication, dated Newport, June 18, 1787, and signed by eminent citizens of this State, at that period in its history. This is taken from a file of papers known as "The Archives of the Federal Convention." 2. A letter from Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, written at Newport, September 14, 1822, and addressed to Thomas Jefferson. 3. Copies of certain Military Records of Rhode Island during a portion of the Revolutionary period. 4. Some genealogical notes by Mr. John O. Austin; and probably some similar contributions from other sources.

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RHODE ISLAND MANUSCRIPTS IN THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES AT WASHINGTON.

[*The following letters are literal copies of their Originals deposited in the historical manuscripts division of the Department of State with the files and records known as "The Archives of the Federal Convention"*].

Newport June 18th. 1787

Sir —

The inclosed address, of which I presume your Excellency has received a duplicde was returned to me from New York after my arrival in this State. I flatterd that our Legislature, which convened on monday last, would have receded from the resolution therein refer'd to, and have complied with the recommendation of Congress in sending deligates to the federal convention — The upper house, or Governor, & Council, embraced the measure, but it was negatived in the house of Assembly by a large majority, notwithstanding the greatest exertions were made to support it. Being disappointed in their expectations, the minority in the administration and all the worthy citizens of this State, whose minds are well informd regreting the peculiarities of their situation place their fullest confidence in the wisdom & moderation of the national council, and indulge the warmest hopes of being favorably consider'd in their deliberations. From these deliberations they anticipate a political System which must finally be adopted & from which will result the Safety, the honour, & the happiness of the United States.

Permit me, Sir, to observe, that the measures of our present Legislature do not exhibit the real character of the State. They are equally reprobated, & abhor'd by Gentlemen of the learned professions, by the whole mercantile body, & by most of the respectable farmers and mechanicks. The majority of the administration is composed of a licentious number of men, destitute of education, and many of them, void of principle. From anarchy and confusion they derive their temporary consequence, and this they endeavor to prolong by debauching the minds of the common people, whose attention is wholly directed to the Abolition of debts both public & private. With these are associated the disaffected of every description, particularly those who were unfriendly during the war. Their paper money System, founded in oppression & fraud, they are determined to Support at every hazard, And rather than relinquish their favorite pursuit the trample upon the most Sacred obligations. As a proof of this they refused to comply with a requisition of Congress for repealing all laws repugnant to the treaty of peace with Great Britain, and urged as their principal reason, that it would be calling in question the proprety of their former measures

These evils may be attributed, partly to the extreme freedom of our own constitution, and partly to the want of energy in the federal Union; And it is greatly to be apprehended that they cannot Speedily be removed but by uncommon and very serious exertions. It is fortunate however that the wealth and resources of this State are chiefly in possion of the well Affected, & that they are intirely devoted to the public good.

I have the honor of being Sir,
with the greatest veneration & esteem,
Your excellencys very obedient &
most humble servant —

His excellency
Gen$^{l.}$ Washington

[*Endorsed*] No. 6.

Letter to General Washington dated Newport June 18. 1787.

[Memorandum. Under the endorsement some one has written in lead pencil "From Genl Varnum"].

[*The "Committee" to The Honbl the Chairman of the General Convention Philadelphia." Duplicate Original inclosed in the Newport letter*].

Providence, May 11th 1787,

Gentlemen,

Since the Legislature of this State have finally declined sending Delegates to meet you in Convention for the purposes mentioned in the Resolve of Congress of the 21st February 1787, — the Merchants, Tradesmen, and Others of this Place, deeply Affected with the evils of the present unhappy times, have thought proper to communicate in writing thier approbation of your Meeting, And their regret that it will fall short of a Compleat representation of the Federal Union. —

The failure of this State was owing to the nonconcurrence of the Upper House of Assembly with a Vote passed in the Lower House, for Appointing Delegates to attend the said Convention, at their Session Holden at Newport, on the first Wednesday of the present Month. —

It is the general Opinion here, and we believe of the well informed throughout this State, that full power for the regulation of the Commerce of the United States, both foreign and Domestick, ought to be vested in the National Council. And that Effectual Arrangements should also be made for giving operation to the present powers of Congress in thier Requisitions upon the States for National purposes. —

As the object of this Letter is chiefly to prevent any impressions unfavourable to the Commercial Interest of this State, from takeing place in our Sister States, from the Circumstance of our being unrepresented in the present National Convention, we shall not presume to enter into any detail of the objects we hope your deliberations will embrace and provide for, being Convinced they will be such as have a Tendency to strengthen the Union, promote Commerce, increase the power, and Establish the Credit of the United States.

The result of your deliberations, tending to these desireable purposes, we still hope may finally be approved & adopted by this State ; for which we pledge our Influence & best exertions. —

This will be delivered you by the Honourable James M. Varnum, Esquire, who will communicate (with your permission) in person, more particularly our Sentiments on the Subject matter of our Address.

In behalf of the Merchants, Tradesmen, &c,

We have the Honour to be, with perfect Consideration And Respect,

Your most Obedient and
Most Humble Servants,

John Brown,
Jos. Nightingale,
Levi Hall,
Phillip Allen,
Paul Allen,
Jabez Bowen,
Nicho^{s}. Brown,
John Jenckes,
Welcome Arnold,
William Russell,
Jeremiah Olney,
William Barton,
Thos. Lloyd Halsey,
} Com^{tee}.

[*Endorsed*] No. 5.

DUPLICATE LETTER FROM SEVERAL GENTLEMEN OF RHODE ISLAND DATED PROVIDENCE MAY 11. 1787.

(Original noted to have been read in Convention May 28. 1787.)

[Extract from the Original Journal of the Proceedings of the Federal Convention].

Monday May 28. 1787.

*** *** ***

a letter from sundry Persons of the State of Rhode Island addressed to the honorable the Chairman of the General Convention was presented to the Chair by M[r] G. Morris —— and, being read, ordered that the said letter do lye upon the table for further consideration.

*** *** ***

DR. BENJM. WATERHOUSE TO THOMAS JEFFERSON.

[From the Original preserved with the Jefferson Papers in the Department of State].

Newport Rhode Island, Sept. 14th '22.

Dear Sir,

I read your letter of the 19th July with pleasure, and though at first disappointed, I cannot wonder at your reluctance to its publication seeing, as I find by your letter, that our brethren in the South are yet slumbering from the opiates of past ages. As times change how some sort of men change with them! Less than 20 years ago, those who governed our University quarrelled with me, & finally cut me off from among them because I would not join them in abusing, & accusing of atheism the then President of the U. S. and now those very men desire above all things to make public use of the sentiments & opinions of that personage to give popularity to their views of the christian religion! Neither Theophilus Parsons, Geo. Cabot or John Lowell expressed so virulent a spirit as Jonathan Jackson. His son was my immediate successor in the chair of the theory & practise of physic. Some person, with no bad intention, quoted from memory a passage of your letter, which caused me to have it corrected, as in the enclosed extract. The calvanistic newspaper remarked upon it, that they were very glad to find M[r]. J. had arrived, at what Mr. Wilberforce calls "*the half way*

house." I was startled a year or two since, on hearing that Dr. Pettigrew in his memoirs of Dr. Lettsom of London had inserted a dozen or more of my letters to that gentleman, even to my poetry!!

As you will only have the trouble of *reading* this, for I am not so unfeeling as to expect a return, unless it should be at the rate of exchange between the value of your letters & mine, at the rate of what we used to call here "*old tenor,*" (when a dollar was eight pounds) and sterling. I may *possibly* this once, amuse you by writing, without exacting a return. I aim to give you a just idea of our religious, & perhaps political condition at Cambridge, & of course Boston. —

Between my house & the colleges is a level piece of ground of 20 acres. About 100 yards from my door is the episcopal church: 50 yards farther is the University chapel or unitarian church, where go my wife's family, her father and sister: an 100 yards beyond that is the old calvanistic meeting house, erected 150 years ago, in which the "commencements," & public instalations of the University are always held. Except now & then when we attend the episcopal church, we pass by the two first every week, & attend the services in the old calvanistic meeting house, whereof A. Holmes, D. D. & LL. D, author of the American annals, is pastor. We do this from respect to the *Man*, an old friend, & a very worthy character. As his congregation is dwindling, my leaving it, would be removing a single brick, that would loosen several others near it. As we are known to differ in sentiment, we never dispute, nor even mention the public controversy. Intimate as he has always been in my family, he never asked me why I never offered my children to anyone for baptism, & I never ask him how he could believe in "Calvin's *five* points." Dr. H. is an honest man, born & educated in Connecticut, & by far the richest clergyman in New England & may give 50,000 dollars to his favorite Andover. In case of sickness, or absence of Dr. Holmes, Dr. Ware, the Profr. of Divinity, & the great champion of unitarianism preaches for him, while the calvanistic Dr. occasionally officiates, in the University or Unitarian chapel, & the President preaches in the old meeting house. The sunday before I left Cam-

bridge,— H. Ware Junr. my son in law, preached in the *unitarian* episcopal church, built in Boston, by royal patronage & called the *Kings* chapel, while its pastor, Dr. Freeman, preached in my sons church, being the very structure wherein Cotton Mather, of *magnalied* celebrity, poured forth the troubled stream of his eloquence, in the 17th century. What will be the end of this theological net-work? Add to this, Mr. Holley, Prest. of the Transylvania college is now in Boston, preaching long & loud in a stile that puzzles people to know whether he incline most to Socrates or Jesus. I asked one who had attended him, what he had said of the latter, he replied *nothing at all*, yet have his admirers in Boston, subscribed 20,000 dollars to build him a church, so easy are those people carried about by every wind of doctrine. A Bostonian is "full of notions," and to be found on the top of every wave. While these efforts are made in the daytime, a very eloquent & newly imported methodist collects a vast crowd in the evening, & it is not long since they held a camp-meeting. It is remarkable that there is not a single quaker in Boston & but one Jew.

The writer of the journal of the Dartmore prisoner, in his definition of a New England man, calls him "*a go to meeting animal*," You would think so, were you to attempt to ride through the streets of Boston of a sunday, at the hour, when the churches are just out. The sidewalks, or bricked way cannot contain the people. This is a matter of curiosity to strangers, especially when they take into the account the remarkably well dressed people, which has given rise to the remark of strangers that "Boston has no rabble."—

In this state of things & condition of the people, is the *religion of reason* raising her head in the midst of a sensible race. It is next to impossible that fanaticism, or calvanism can maintain its footing here, especially while the preachers of "*the One all perfect God*" retain their present great weight of character. The Roman Catholics have a vast congregation in Boston, & over them a Bishop of inestimable worth, & prudence. No clergyman is there more respected, for his learning, eloquence & goodness. His removal would be a public loss.

That you may see what sort of sermons the people of Bos-

ton & Cambridge listen to, I send you a copy of one preached by the younger Mr Ware, and written while on a visit to New York, where his younger brother is settled, in a new and tasteful structure, built almost entirely by New England men & their descendants I contemplate the improvement of education with pleasure. When I was a young man, I had not any acquaintance of 26 years of age, who could, away from his own study, on a visit in a distant city, write such a sensible discourse is that on *three important questions relating to the christian name & character.* Some of his discourses are more brilliant, but none less sensible. From such a specimen in such young men, you can judge of the effects fifty years hence. The Apostle at Baltimore, the chaplain of Congress, who is now preaching in Boston, is under 30 years of age. The famous Osgood, who is certainly a very able & eloquent man, & who is now probably on his death bed, is well aware that he will be succeeded by an unitarian. He, as well as his coadjutor, Parish have undergone a great change since President Monroe visited Boston. Both of them have confessed some of their political mistakes, & partly atoned for their abuse. It is remarkable that both of them disapprove the high handed conduct of the calvanistic convention, and have predicted the consequences. Even Andover groans out loud at the prospect around her. She dreads the effect of reason. It is somewhat remarkable that even here on Rhode Island, they almost shudder at the name of an unitarian. Although the founder of the Sect of Hopkinsians issued all his dogmas from this town, where he had little or no influence, yet I could have hardly imagined that every pulpit on the Island is shut against every man bearing the name of unitarian. The Episcopal church is here the most numerous, next the Quakers ; then the Baptist, with a few Methodists & Moravians. The Jews are become extinct & the lamp of their synagogue gone out. I remember them here very numerous ; in general rich & respectable. On the approach of war, & decay of trade, they fled. They follow not the usual laborious trades of the christians, but pursue those callings which are generally exercised in secret among themselves. Twenty years ago, one of their tribe commanded a very handsome military company, or corps of volunteers, in Boston.

As to politics, the notorious federalists in Boston very generally, talk & act like republicans, while most of the republicans talk as the federalists once did. They speak of our administration in a stile that proves their ignorance, and of the navy, & some of its officers as worse than useless. The fact is, the parties are so nearly amalgamated, that the great brawlers on both sides have lost their usual stimulus, & having no longer occasion to rave at the opposite party they have now turned upon their own. A *middling* interest is rising out of the extremes of these associations, but they are all so languid that nothing very honorable will come of it. When a people "are full of idleness & full of bread," it does seem as if the whole they constitute stood need of some tub to play with. The Bostonians must have military parades, cattle shows—agricultural projects, great personages, or sea serpents or religious controversies or a great conflagration to keep them from looking sour and making faces at one another. But enlist them very heartily in any cause, and they can hate, or be benevolent equal to any set of men upon earth.

Being on a visit to my native place, I cannot employ the forenoon of a rainy day more agreeably than by recording a few particulars of my *natale solum.* Is it truth, or am I blinded by partiality when I say that this small state of Rhode Island has been fertile in events, and by no means destitute of distinguished characters.

Between the years 1720 & '25, this Island was the residence of the famous Dean Berkley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne. It is even said that he wrote his immortal work in this Island The house he built, called Whitehall, still remains, & is shewn as the Dutch shew that of Erasmus at Rotterdam. This celebrated philosopher & his companions left behind them traits of their brilliant characters. The Dean left his library to Yale college, as well as the estate he possessed here, where Mr Keyes erected & endowed a Latin school for youth of the episcopal church. You doubtless recollect that Berkley & his associates came out to establish a College at Bermuda, for the convertion & education of our North American Indians; but they could not find the Summer Islands, or mistook Rhode Island for Bermuda.

About the year 1754 *Abraham Redwood* a benevolent & opulent gentleman of the Society of Quakers, established a public library, containing the best English books, & Latin classics of that day—accessible on *very* easy terms to *every* inhabitant. The structure is, at this moment, one of the best copies of Grecian architecture I ever saw in America. When the Redwood Library was founded, there were but two colleges in New England, one at Cambridge, the other at New Haven. A college in Rh. Island was not then contemplated. The very learned President *Stiles* was Librarian of the Redwood collection nearly thirty years; and he has often declared that he owed his great attachment to literature, which was extraordinary, to that fine library.

It was the "*Redwood Library*" that rendered reading fashionable throughout the little Community of Rh. Island during 70, or 80 years, w^c^ advantage was not then enjoyed in Mass^ts^. New Hampshire, or Connecticut. It diffused a knowledge of general & particular history, geography, ethics, & poetry & polite literature. It opened to the youth of both sexes an acquaintance with antiquity: it gave them a knowledge of Greece & Rome, of Asia, modern Europe, the English classics & *belles lettres*. It sowed the seeds of that science and rendered the inhabitants of Newport, if not a learned yet a better read, & inquisitive people than any other town in New England. When the British army occupied Rh. Island, they, in a manner, destroyed the Redwood Library, by carrying off books of entertainment as English poetry, voyages & travels; all the books on medicine, leaving behind little else than folios on serious subjects. So much we owe to Abraham Redwood, the William Logan of Newport. He first established a fine garden here well stored with curious foreign plants in hot houses, greenhouses, & extensive open grounds for indigenous ones. Nor was his liberality confined to such things;—industrious young men struggling on to obtain comfortable livlehoods, were objects of his benevolence. I am now writing this in the house of his grand daughter Mrs Champlin, the seat of elegance & opulence.

Next to Dean Berkley, we must mention *Callender* in the line of theology, who wrote the best account of the Colony of

Rh. Island & Providence Plantation. Then comes Dr Stiles afterwards President of Yale college; nor must we pass over Dr Hopkins founder of the Sect called after him *Hopkinsians*, — Dr *Arthur Browne*, who died President of trinity college Dublin, was born, and received the ground work of his education in this town, where his father was episcopal minister.

In the department of physic, it behoves us to record that the first public lectures ever given in North America on anatomy, physiology & surgery, were by Dr *Wm. Hunter*, in the court house at Newport, and father to the gentleman of the same name now in the Senate of the U. S. —This was prior to the existence of the medical school of Philadelphia.

In experimental, or mechanical philosophy, the name of *Joseph Brown* can never be forgotten here. This self taught genius, amongst other useful things, constructed and put into complete operation the British invention of the steam engine for freeing a mine, belonging to his family from water. Nor ought we to pass over, in our catologue of eminent men his friend *Stephen Hopkins*, the Samuel Adams of Rh. Island, whom you knew in Congress, & who is immortalized by his Signature.

Among military commanders, our little State may boast of *General Green*, and of *Oliver Hazard Perry*, whom Nelson, were he living, might envy. We can almost boast of *Decature*, for his father and mother were born here. —

In the "*fine arts*," so called, we enumerate my old friend & school fellow *Gilbert Stewart*, who every body knows, stands preëminent as an *head* painter.

After thus boasting of our great men, before the braggadocia spirit evaporates entirely, I must speak of the Island itself. I have seen not a little of other countries, but I never saw any Island that unites finer views, rendered pleasant by variety, of hill & vale, rocks, reefs beaches, Islands & perennial ponds than this. Until I saw other parts of the world I did not sufficiently appreciate this. I have always heard it praised by strangers, and long remember it the resort of the opulent invalid, since I can remember anything, but I never duly estimated its beauties until this visit; when I have explored it from shore

to shore in every direction, & cease to wonder at its celebrity. Before the discovery of our mineral springs Rh. Island was in one view the *Bath* of the American world, & the lumber room of the colonial faculty. What they could not cure they threw in a heap here. This and the "Redwood Library" gave it both a literary & a genteel air; and rendered it the best bred society in N. England. But — alas! — how changed! — The British destroyed, for fuel, about 900 buildings, of be sure the poorer sort; yet it has never recovered the delapidation. The town of Providence has risen to riches & elegance from the ruins of this once beautiful spot; while Newport resembles an old battered shield — Its scars & bruises are deep & indeliable. Commerce, & all the Jews are fled. The wharves are deserted & the lamp in the synagogue is extinct; and the people are now so poor, that there are not more than 10, or a dozen people who would have the courage to invite a stranger to his table. General Dearborn has demonstrated to me that it never can be a safe naval station; and that it can never be so fortifyed as to resist a powerful attack by sea. They must therefore stick to the spirit of their ancient motto — *In Domine speravimus.*

You owe to an easterly storm of rain the tedious task of reading this long epistle. Should I keep it till tomorrow I shall probably burn it, from a second thought of why I should impose such a task as reading this upon a person who may loathe the sight of another letter from anyone? Its preservation from the flames now arises from the reflection, that *reading* a letter is somewhat different from being obliged to notice it by any sort of acknowledgement or answer.— I consider the effects of an old dislocation, & that gradual, but very natural irksomeness of arranging & committing thoughts to paper, at a period of life when a man ought to be relieved from every labour but thinking — What a life the antient Patriarch must have led! — So many years old — 000, 000,! and no books, and if they had, no spectacles — no telescopes — no tobacco — no rum — wine like our cider — no commerce — no post office — outlived love & fighting — their vale of life must have been what we in this day can scarcely imagine — a sort of valley of the shadow of death!— But how

blessed are you? How differently situated & circumstanced— a mind stored from reading and every convenience from art to aid declining nature and with this consolatory reflection that you have not served an ungrateful public. That your rewards may increase, until you receive the great one, in another & a better world is the prayer of

B. WATERHOUSE.

[Indorsement in the handwriting of Thomas Jefferson.]

Waterhouse Dr. Benj: Newport Sep. 14. 22.
recd Sep. 26

[Jefferson was then at Monticello.]

MILITARY RECORDS PERTAINING TO THE HISTORY OF RHODE ISLAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

I Nathanael Greene do swear that I will faithfully, truly and impartially execute the office of Quarter Master General to which I am appointed, and render a true account, when thereunto required, of all public monies by me received or expended, and of all ſtores or other effects to me intruſted, which belong to the UNITED STATES, and will, in all reſpects, diſcharge the truſt repoſed in me with juſtice and integrity, to the beſt of my ſkill and underſtanding.

Nathanael Greene 2 Mly

Sworn before me
the 23d of May 1778
G. Washington

I Nathanael Greene do acknowledge the UNITED STATES of AMERICA, to be Free, Independent and Sovereign States, and declare that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great-Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him; and I do swear - that I will to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and defend the said United States, against the said King George the Third. his heirs and succeſſors and his and their abettors, aſſiſtants and adherents, and will ſerve the ſaid United States in the office of Major General which I now hold with fidelity, according to the beſt of my ſkill and underſtanding.

Nath Greene Maj Genl

Sworn before me
the 28 May 1778
G. Washington

[*The Copy of a letter of Gov. Cooke, dated Providence, Nov. 6, 1776, is here omitted, as it is printed in R. I. Col. Rec., Vol. 8, pp. 54-5.*]

[The following is enclosed in Governor Cooke's letter of Nov. 6, 1776.]

State of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations

In General Assembly. October Sessions A. D. 1776.—

Both Houses being resolved into a Grand-Committee made Choice of the following Gentlemen as Officers in the two Battalions or Regiments to be raised by this State agreeable to requisition of Congress

I. BATTALION.

James Mitchel Varnum Esq Colonel. Adam Comstock Esq Lieut Colº. Henry Sherburne Esq Major.

Captains

Ebenezer Flagg. Silas Talbut. Thomas Cole, John S. Dexter. Simeon Martin. Jonathan Wallen.

1st Lieutenants.

Joseph Arnold. William Belcher. Timothy Lock. Samuel Bissell. Wilson Rawson. William Potter. Handy. Thomas Noyes.

2d Lieutenants.

Ichabod Prentice, John Chapman. John Remington.

Ensigns

Zephaniah Bowen

Staff Officers

Clarke Brown Quarter Master. Jonathan J. Hazard. pay-master.

2D BATTALION.

Daniel Hitchcock Esq Colonel. Israel Angel Esq Lieut Col. Christopher Smith Esq Major

Captains.

Jeremiah Olney, William Tew. Coggeshal Olney. Ephraim Bowen. William Bradford. John Carr. Abimelech Riggs—

1st Lieutenants

Stephen Olney. William Allen. William Littlefield. Gilbert Grano. Joseph Whitmarsh. Daniel Peirce. Amos Crandell. Micah Moulton.

2 Lieutenants

Thomas Hughes. Duty Jerrald.

Ensigns

Ebenezer West. Holliman Potter. Thomas Waterman. Oliver Jencks. Richard Hunniwell.

Staff-Officers

Cyprian Sterry Quarter Master. Charles Holden Pay-Master.

A true copy

Witness HENRY WARD Secry.

RETURN OF OFFICERS RECOMMENDED FOR THE NEW ESTABLISHMENT.

FIELD OFFICERS, RECOMMEND^{D}

DANIEL HITCHCOCK, Colonel.
ISRAEL ANGELL, Lt Colonel.
CHRISTOPHER SMITH, Major.

OFFICERS IN SERVICE RECOMMENDED

Captains	*1st Lieuten^{ts}*	*2^{d} Lieu^{ts}*	*Ensigns*
Jerem^{h} Olney	Stephen Olney	Thomas Hughs	Eben^{r} West
William Tew	William Allen	James Webb	Holiman Potter
Coggeshall Olney	Willm Littlefield	Wm Humphrey	Thos Waterman
Ephraim Bowen	Grant		
Simeon Thayer	Joseph Whitmarsh	Duty Jerrald	Oliver Jencks
Willm Bradford	Daniel Peirce		
Carr	Amos Crandall		
Riggs	Micah Moulton		Richd Hunnewell

STAFF OFFICERS RECOMMENDED

	Chaplain
	Adjutant
CYPREAN STERRY	Q^{r} Master
	Surgeon
	Mate

FIELD OFFICER RECOMMEND^{D}

CHRISTOPHER GREENE Colonel
ADAM COMSTOCK Lt Col^{o}
HENRY SHURBUNE Major

OFFICERS IN SERVICE RECOMMENDED

Captains	*1st Lieut's*	*2d Lieut's*	*Ensigns*
Samuel Ward	Joseph Arnold	Ichabod Prentice	
John Topham	Willm Belcher		
Eben^r Flagg	Timothy Lock		Zepheniah Browne
Silas Talbut	Saml Bissell		
Thos Cole	Rawson	John Chapman	
John S. Dexter	Willm Potter		
Martin	Handy	Edward Slocum	
Wallin.	Noice	John Remmington	

STAFF OFFICERS RECOMMENDED

	Chaplain
	Adj^t
CLARKE BROWNE	Q^r Master
	Surgeon
	Mate

On the back of this list the following remarks appear:

"Colonel Varnum would have been recommended for a Colonel of one of the Regiments but he refuses to serve."

"Recommended from the different Regiments the within Arrangement for constituting the two Rhode Island Regiments upon the new Establishment."

"Included in this Arrangement the following Officers now prisoners of War — L^t. Col^o Christopher Greene Capt. Samuel Ward — Capt. John Topham — Capt. Simeon Thayer — Lt James Webb — L^t. Willm Humphreys and Ensign Edward Slocum."

"N. B. It is not meant that the within Arrangement shall determine the Rank of the Captains and Subaltern Officers."

[Endorsed] Recom^d of Officers
Transmitted
Govr COOKE
11, 12 & 13 Oct^r.

A Return of the Vacancies in General Greene's Brigade Together with the Names of the Field, Commissioned and Staff Officers in the Several Regiments and Companies, their numbers, and Names of them recommended to said Vacancies Prospect Hill Sept 19th 1775

12th Regiment Foot	James Mitchel Varnum Colonel Christopher Greene L[t] Colonel John Murray Chaplain John S. Dexter Adjutant Clarke Brown Q[t] Master Joseph Joslyn Sūgeon John Mauvide Mate	Thomas Holdon Recommended for Major

CAPTAINS	LIEUTENANTS	ENSIGNS	Recommended for Captains	Recommended for Lieutenants	Recommended for Ensigns	Ser-jeants	Cor-porals	Drums & fifes	Pri-vates
Tho[s] Holdon	Jōs Barton		Jōs Barton	Jōs Arnold	Micah Whitmarsh	3	3	2	46
Samuel Ward	Elijah Lewis				Daniel Pearce	3	3	2	41
Archib. Crary	John S. Dexter	Ephraim Weedon			Joseph Whitmarsh	3	3	3	50
Edmund Johnson	Josiah Gibbs	John Holdon			Isaac Johnson	3	3	2	50
Ethan Clarke	Tho[s] Cole	Jere Herredon				2	1		18
Christ Smith	Tho[s] Sweet	Timothy Lock				2	1	2	16
James Gardner	Tho[s] Bissell	Sam[l] Bissell				3	3	2	32
	Oliver Clarke		Oliver Clarke	Ephraim Weeden	Amos Crandle	3	3	2	44
Joseph Halloway		Joseph Babcock		John Holdon		3	3	2	37
	Nath[l] Hawkins	W[m] Potter	Nath[l] Hawkins	W[m] Potter	Asa Miner	3	3	2	36
8	9	7	3	4	6	28	26	19	370

A RETURN OF THE VACANCIES IN GENERAL GREENE'S BRIGADE, ETC.—CONTINUED.

14th REGIMENT FOOT	DANIEL HITCHCOCK	Colonel
	EZEKIEL CORNELL	Lt Colonel
	ISRAEL ANGELL	Major
	BELA WHIPPLE	Adjutant
	CYPRIAN STERRY	Qt Master
	EBENEZER RICHMOND	Surgeon
	CALEB FISK	Mate

CAPTAINS	LIEUTENANTS	ENSIGNS	Recommended for Captains	Recommended for Lieutenants	Recommended for Ensigns	Ser-jeants	Cor-porals	Drums & fifes	Pri-vates
	Coggeshall Olney	Stephen Olney	Coggeshall Olney	Stephen Olney	Bela Whipple	3	3	2	42
Jere Olney	Amos Jenckes	Nehemiah Field				3	3	2	44
Christ Olney	Ephraim Bowen	Cyprian Sterry				2	4	2	36
John Field	David Richmond	Sām Black				3	3	2	46
	David Dexter	Wm Humphrey	David Dexter	Wm Humphrey	Christo Hopkins	3	1	2	24
Steph Kimball	Jonā Smith	Nehemiah Angell				3	3	1	39
Nathl Blackmer	Abrām Tourtelott	Benja Hoppen				3	3	2	40
Simeon Thayer	John Spurr	William Potter				3	3	2	44
Silas Talbut	Reuben Sprague	William Allen				3	3	2	49
James Williams	Artemas Fenner	Joseph Harris				3	3	2	31
8	10	10	2	2	2	29	29	19	395

A RETURN OF THE VACANCIES IN GENERAL GREENE'S BRIGADE, ETC.—CONTINUED.

15th REGIMENT FOOT	THOMAS CHURCH	Colonel
	Wm TURNER MILLER	Lt Colonel
	HENRY SHERBURNE	Major
	JOHN MURRAY	Chaplin
	WILLIAM BRADFORD Jr	Adjutant
	JEREMIAH CHILDS	Qt Master
	ISAAC SENTER	Surgeon
	BENJAMIN GREENE	Mate

CAPTAINS	LIEUTENANTS	ENSIGNS	Recommended for Captains	Recommended for Lieutenants	Recommended for Ensigns	Serjeants	Corporals	Drums & fifes	Privates
Lion Martindale	Benj Dimon	James Child				3	4	2	42
John Topham	George Tennant	James Webb				3	3	1	46
William Tew	Lemuel Bailey	Thomas Hughes				3	3	2	34
Matthew Allen	James Smith				Wm Bradford Jr	3	4	2	45
Aaron Wilbur	Nathl Church	Cornelius Briggs				3	3	2	48
William Cook	Israel Church	Edward Slocum				3	3		49
Jonā Brownall	Sylvenas Shaw				Samuel Stevens	3	2	1	36
Ebenezer Flagg	Joseph Perry	Noel Allen				3	3	2	43
Thomas Gray	Moses Turner	Wm Southward				3	3	1	31
9	9	7			2	27	28	13	374

ROGER WILLIAMS' KEY:—

BEANES VS. BARNES.

Not long ago, a member of this Society, while pursuing a subject of Natural History, was forced to ask the question,—

"Why are Beans omitted from the 'Catalogue of Fruits of the Earth,' given by Roger Williams, in the 16th Chapter of his Key?"

In a paper read before the Historical Society, the reasons for the question and the manner in which it arose, were plainly stated, without any pretence of learning as a philologist or familiarity with the Indian language.

It occurred to the writer, as a possible answer to the question, that the word "Barnes," by a misprint in the Key, might have been substituted for "Beanes." In support of this hypothesis, such reasons and evidence as seemed appropriate, were adduced; and in its closing paragraph the final decision was referred to the philologists, to whose province it especially belonged.

Recently, Mr. Tooker has undertaken to defend the printed text, claiming as a reason an invitation from Mr. Ely to do so. This is a mistake. No invitation was needed, and none was given by him, directly, or otherwise.

Mr. Tooker appears also to have mistaken the aim of the writer when he charges—"anxiety in Mr. Ely to prove Roger Williams or his printer, to be in error."

On the contrary, the writer's hypothesis relieves Roger Williams from the charge of error, which Mr. Tooker's theory fixes upon him, in omitting from his Catalogue of Fruits of the Soil, the greatest vegetable product of the Indians, except corn, namely, beans.

This omission Mr. Tooker does not explain or excuse, and while he rightly calls the views of the writer an "hypothesis," seems to forget, that as such, it necessarily admits that *Au-qun-nash* may mean either Barnes, or Beanes.

Mr. Tooker also claims to be an expert in the Indian language:—roots, primals and etymologies.

He declares himself "almost as familiar with Eliot's Bible as with Roger Williams' Key"—and says that, "probably no one has devoted more time and study to Roger Williams' Key—especially to this particular [16th] Chapter, for the past six years than he has."

Now Dr. Trumbull, to whom Mr. Tooker appeals and wisely defers, is admittedly the most accomplished New England scholar in the Indian languages. There are also to be found in the works of Dr. Trumbull, his opinions as to certain words and passages on which Mr. Tooker has given his own theories and opinions; and by these may be tested, in a good measure, the etymologies, deductions and assertions which Mr. Tooker places before us.

As to Mr. Tooker's statement, that, "there is absolutely no affinity" between the word *Tupp-uh-qua-nash*, and *Au-qun-nash*, defined in the Key as Barnes, "providing Dr. Trumbull is correct in his interpretation,"—the language seems strong, but Mr. Tooker's proviso nullifies it all. It is an assertion with an *If*, and amounts merely to this: if *Au-qun-nash* really means "Barnes," and if Dr. Trumbull is correct in leaving the printed text unchanged (as Mr. Tooker thinks), then there is no affinity between the words. But the very question is as to the correctness of the printed word thus left unchanged. So, the whole argument of Mr. Tooker at this point, is a mere "begging of the question."

The fact that the printed words were left as Dr. Trumbull found them, is no evidence that they were examined critically, or deliberately studied and approved. All we know is that he reprinted them. There is no note or reference to these, as to many other words, to indicate a study of them. And Dr. Trumbull says, "it was his constant aim to insure the literal accuracy of the reprint, even to the reproduction of typographical errors of the original."*

*Key Narr. ed., Editor's preface, p. 15.

If the gross misprinting of the running titles of the Chapters escaped notice, it seems an insignificant oversight that two words theretofore unquestioned and little used, were left in the text unchanged.

But further, in his fifth paragraph, Mr. Tooker comments on the word *Tupp-uh-qua-nash*, and digs up a set of roots and primals from which he represents it as derived. He also denies that the native bean twined high — and declares that Eliot, in this case, used a word of his own coinage, and was describing the European bean. This, he says, "is evident," and admits of no doubt. Dr. Trumbull, however, has spoken on this matter, and his views and etymologies directly contradict those of Mr. Tooker.

What to Mr. Tooker is "evidently" true, is evidently error to Dr. Trumbull. While Mr. Tooker, to make out his case against *Tupp-uh-qua-nash*, asserts that, "Eliot here evidently uses a word of his own coinage, in order to describe the European plant,"—that, the "native bean was a low bush,"—and that Dr. Trumbull no doubt recognized the truth of this, and evidently derives it from *tupp*, the root of which is *ap-pu*, he sits, and *uh-qua*, from *gun-nuh-qui*, high :—we have the explicit statement of Dr. Trumbull to the contrary.* Dr. Trumbull ignores the roots and primals, on which these claims of Mr. Tooker are based, and says, "Besides the name *Mon-as-quis-set* and its variants [for beans] there is another, in the Northern Algonquin language for Kidney [native] beans, which must have originally belonged to some high-twining variety." Dr. Trumbull also says that, "Eliot used it, in the plural for beans, II. Samuel, xvii., 28,—*Tupp-uh-qua-mash*, which literally signifies twiners:" and then, referring to the etymology, he says,— "Rasle gave in the Kennebeck-Abnaki, of Maine, for *'faseole'* [the native bean], *a'-te-ba'-kwé*, from the same root :"—but not a word of *ap-pu*, he sits,—or *gun-nuh-qui*, high, as any root or source of the word. Dr. Trumbull also quotes Jocelyn's Catalogue with approval:—"Here is reference to at least two species of American beans, one proper to New England, the other from Roanoke;" and adds, "as to the American origin

*Scientific Works of Dr. Asa Gray, by C. S. Sargent, I., 350.

of the Lima bean and its varieties, there seems to be no question."*

Dr. Trumbull thus gives no support to the theories of Mr. Tooker; on the contrary, he directly refutes his assertion that, "Eliot was using a word of his own coinage, to describe the European plant." Dr. Trumbull represents Eliot as describing a native bean and not the European; that there were a number of varieties of the native beans, and that some did twine and grow high.

Again, on another point, Mr. Tooker says, "the reason why Eliot translated beans by *Tupp-uh-qua-mash*, and not by *Mon-as-qus-se-dash*, once used by Williams for cooked beans, but not at all in Chapter XVI., is partially answered under his fifth paragraph. But we find that Dr. Trumbull has already nullified the argument of that portion of Mr. Tooker's paper, so that the partial answer fails on that point.

In fact, Mr. Tooker's statement as to the word, *Mon-as-qus-se-dash*, under his sixth paragraph, singularly strengthens and confirms the position of the "Key-hole," that *Mon-as-qus-se-dash* and its variants were used only for beans cooked and ready to be eaten,—or as Mr. Tooker gives it, "those that are much boiled."

As to Indian "Barns," they are described in the "Key-hole," as Mr. Tooker admits. But there is no reason to believe that the barn of the Bible—the English barn and the Indian barn were so essentially different in idea as Mr. Tooker claims.

On the contrary it seems they were the same in idea and purpose, while their difference was mainly one of construction and extent.

All and each were "repositories for any sort of grain," or products of the soil. The conception of a barn as a shelter for horses or cattle of any kind, was of a much latter date, and did not obtain in England before the middle of the 18th Century.†

To give the fact that "Cotton was the son of a clergyman who preached to the Indians," as a reason for his never using

*Scientific papers of Asa Gray—C. S. Sargent, I., 350, 351.

†Bailey, Dict. 1749.

the Key word *au-qun-nash*, for barns, is unique, if the word really meant "Barnes," as Mr. Tooker claims; or, if Mr. Tooker supposes that, "to an Indian's mind and understanding" the Bible idea and the white man's idea of a Barn were "things" which he was incapable of grasping, he would seem to underrate Indian intelligence.

Roger Williams expressly observes of the Indians,—"For the temper of the braine in quick apprehension and accurate judgments, to say no more, the most high and Sovereign God and Creator hath not made them inferior to Europeans."* And so as to their coinage. Dr. Trumbull quotes Jocelyn, as saying, "They work their bead money out of certain shells, so cunning, that neither Jew nor Devil can counterfeit."†

And even on the higher plane of "Soul Liberty," (the great distinction of Roger Williams) he tells us, that the natives held the same doctrine. "They have a modest persuasion, not to disturb any man, either themselves, English, Dutch, or any, in their conscience or worship:—and therefore say,—'Peace: hold your peace!'"‡

In another paragraph, Mr. Tooker takes up the verb *au-quan, au-qun*, and gives his method of evolving *Au-qun-nash* therefrom. This appears to be done by doubling *n*, and adding to the verb the affix "*ash*"—which Dr. Trumbull says is the plural affix for an inanimate noun;§ thus coining for his purpose, a plural noun. This seems an original method in etymology,—that it is aboriginal does not so clearly appear.

But to reach those primal sources, "which clear away all uncertainty," we may take the word, *Au-ha-qut*, mantle, which Mr. Tooker represents as derived, as well as other words, from *au-quan, au-qun*. Here we can again contrast the views of Mr. Tooker and Dr. Trumbull; and we find the latter speaking with the same positiveness as in the previous case of Mr. Tooker's "*ap-pu*, he sits; *gun-nuh-qui*, high." Dr. Trumbull ignores Mr. Tooker's *au-quan* and *au-qun*, as its root and primal; and on the contrary says it is derived from

*Key, Narr. ed., p. 77.

†Key, Narr. ed., p. 181.

‡Key, Narr. ed., 153.

§Key, Narr. ed., 53.

hog-kŵ, or *hog-ki*, to cover; and further, that "*hock*" (*hog-ki*, *hack-ee*) is the generic affix for "a shell."* The strict significance of the word is therefore, to cover as with a shell.

This being so, it does not require much imagination to conceive that the bean-plant might derive its name, as a variant, or secondarily, from the same primal with *Au-ha-qut*, if *au-ha-qut* and *au-qun-nash* are, as Mr. Tooker states, cognate words:—the "cover" being of the bean, and not of a hole in the ground,—and so like the shell of a clam or mussel, that in English there seems to be no word for getting out the fruit by human hands, except as it is "shelled."

But in leaving *au-quan* and its variants, even Mr. Tooker seems doubtful of the etymology; his argument being qualified by the remark, that "this prefix (*Ne-cawn*, *Nuk-kon*), if there was nothing else, would prove the accuracy of Roger Williams' interpretation, for the reason that it is never used except to give the sense of being *old in use*, and therefore could not have been applied to beans." But this proposition fails; for the same prefix (which as Mr. Tooker shows is spelt in different ways) is actually used, as stated in the "Key-hole," to distinguish between "old birds" and young birds; and even Mr. Tooker would hardly claim that parent birds were spoken of or distinguished only "as being *old in use*."

Mr. Tooker's doubt and assertion that the Indians would not have kept beans of the previous year's growth in quantities enough to be noted by Roger Williams, is mere assertion and doubt. The evidence of history appears to be that as many beans in proportion to corn were raised among the Indians for their own consumption as among the whites at the present day. The universal cultivation of both, from the St. Lawrence and the lakes to the farthest south, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts, no one can deny. Williams finds it "almost incredible what burthens the poor women carry of beanes."† In time of famine at Plymouth, two little villages on the Cape, each turned out to Gov. Bradford, "hogsheads of corn and beans;"‡ and Hendrick Hudson

*Key, Narr. ed., 144, 175.

†Key, Narr. ed., p. 66.

‡Young's Chronicles, XIX., 301-2.

found, on the river which bears his name, at Schodack, in the Spring of 1609, beanes of the last year's growth.* If they were not habitually stored along with their corne, and if none were kept over, "except occasionally for seed," it is impossible to believe they would have been given by the hogsheads to Bradford, or freely furnished as a feast and food-stores for Hudson and his crew,—or that, as Ruttenber states, "above a hundred pits of corn and beans were burned" at a time.†

As to the holes in the ground, described as "barnes, or welles," abounding on Shinnecock Playne, the presumption is very strong that they were mostly welles, from the constant and universal need of fresh water on sandy, flat and almost seagirt regions, wherever a wigwam was set up or changed in place.

At all events there was no such condition of things in the Providence Plantations. The geologic features of the two localities were entirely different. The Narragansetts put their barnes on hillsides, and had no need of welles in a country with so many springs and which Roger Williams describes as "full of brooks and rivers and abounding in fresh ponds." No evidence has been brought to show that welles or barnes, or old barnes caused any trouble to call for notice in their domains, while the immense sacks and baskets of their skillful handiwork (each holding several bushels), doubtless rendered their barnes fewer and smaller in size.

The fact remains, that the hollows and holes in the ground, whether "welles" or "barnes" or both, were not fruits or products of the soil, and in a catalogue of such fruits were out of place.

Whether *Au-qun-nash* means beanes or barnes, one cannot, in view of the authority of Dr. Trumbull's statements, accept the etymologies of Mr. Tooker.

With all his study, he does not answer the main question,—"Why are beanes omitted by Roger Williams in his Catalogue of the Fruits of the Earth, in the sixteenth Chapter of the Key?"

*Hudson's Journal, in de Laet., 1625, Lib. III., Chap. 10.

†Tribes of Hudson's River—150.

The whole inquiry is thus relegated anew to the philologists. Of these there seem to be but two organizations in a position to decide. One, the Indian Section of the American Philological Society; the other, the Indian Bureau of the Smithsonian Institute. The latter has been for years studying the hundreds of Indian languages of the East and West, and is in constant session. To it, therefore, the writer has submitted for consideration, both the "Key-hole" and Mr. Tooker's paper, in print.

It is left for the Institute to decide these questions; and if Roger Williams omitted Beanes from his list of vegetables in the Key, we trust it will make clear to us, not only the fact, but also the reason why.

Its investigations will doubtless evolve the truth, and its decision will bear a stamp of authority.

WILLIAM D. ELY.

May, 1894.

GLIMPSES OF ANCIENT SOWAMS.

REMINISCENCES OF THE ABORIGINES — THEIR SAYINGS AND DOINGS.

"Warren! where first beside the cradled nation
The old chief stood, we love thy storied past.
'Sowams is pleasant for a habitation —'
'Twas thy first history — may it be thy last."

Near neighbors to the Plymouth settlers were the Indians of the Wampanoag tribe of whom Massasoit or Osamequin was the principal sachem. The domain of Massasoit extended over a considerable territory embracing nearly all the southeastern portion of Massachusetts from Cape Cod to Narra-

gansett Bay; but the villages of the Wampanoags were principally located within the limits of a tract of country called by the Indians "Pokanoket." Pokanoket comprised the region now occupied by the towns of East Providence, Barrington, Warren and Bristol in Rhode Island; together with portions of Seekonk, Swanzea, and Rehoboth in Massachusetts, the headquarters of the chief being at the village of Sowams or Sowamset.

For many years the location of Sowams was a disputed point, authorities variously fixing it at Barrington, Warren, and Bristol. Gen. Guy M. Fessenden was the first to prove it to have been on the site of Warren near the spring which still bears the sachem's name. The facts which determined Gen. Fessenden in arriving at his conclusions are given at length in his "History of Warren." This history was published in 1845. Several years after its publication Gen. Fessenden obtained additional proof of the correctness of his theories. The student of Indian history is aware that, at the close of King Philip's war, the remnant of the Wampanoags fled to Maine and sought refuge from their white foes among the Penobscots, with whom they ultimately became blended. In 1860, a company of Indians, under the leadership of Father Beeson, the "Indian's Friend," made a tour of the United States giving a series of entertainments in the principal cities and towns. The object of their enterprise was a threefold one.

"1st. To prepare the public mind for a National Convention of Representatives from the Principal Tribes and their Friends in the States.

"2d. To devise and present for Congressional action, a plan for a protective policy between the two races.

"3rd. To prevent the proposed Border War."

Among the towns visited was Warren, where a prolonged stay was made. The Indians encamped upon some vacant lots on Franklin Street, just east of the railroad track. At their wigwams they sold bows and arrows, baskets and other implements of war and peace. Evening entertainments consisting of songs, dances, readings, and illustrations of various Indian customs were given at Armory Hall, and were attended by large audiences.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Rocks." Here, according to Mr. Loring, Philip was in the habit of convening his warriors during the period immediately preceding the war. From this point he despatched scouts and raiding parties to Swansea, Mattapoisett, and other localities. Mr. Loring knew that one of the rocks in this ledge had been used as a mortar for pounding maize by the Wampanoag squaws. Assisted by Gen. Fessenden, he instituted a search, which resulted successfully. Nothing, however, now remains of this interesting monument of the past, save a fragment of stone built into the wall which skirts the roadside. The mortar has been carried away piecemeal by "relic fiends."

Among the traditions carefully preserved by the Penobscots was one declaring that, during Philip's War, the Wampanoags buried a quantity of wampum in Birch Swamp. "Big Thunder" brought with him directions for finding this hidden treasure. These directions had been handed down, in his tribe, from father to son for generations. They are curious as illustrating the Indian method of determining distances. A gentleman who accompanied him upon several excursions, states that, as nearly as he can recollect, they were as follows:

"From 'Margaret's Cave' 10 paces towards the sun at noonday, then 20 paces toward the setting sun in June.

"From the highest point of the ledge of rock in Birch Swamp 50 paces due west in September."

Mr. Loring spent three days searching for the buried hoard, but his efforts were fruitless, although he dug several holes at each location. Doubtless the wampum is still in the place where it was hidden, unless the devil, who formerly made the swamp one of his places of residence and whose hoofprints imbedded in the solid rock are to be seen there even to this day, has spirited it away to the lower regions.

"Margaret's Cave," of which only a portion now remains, derived its name from having been, for many years, the home of an Indian man, probably of Wampanoag origin, "Margaret" being undoubtedly the anglicised pronunciation of an Indian name. In Birch Swamp dwelt also "Old Hippy," another aboriginal. Just when these two red men lived I have been una-

ble to ascertain; but, presumably, it must have been nearly if not quite a century ago. Both lived to old age. "Hippy" died peacefully in his bed, but "Margaret" perished in the flames of his summer wigwam which he accidentally set on fire. Near the cave are two rocks said to be the devil and his wife turned to stone by some influence more powerful than their own. At a little distance, on the top of the ledge of which the cave forms a part, is a wide and deep groove in the rocks closely resembling the track of a huge wheel. Tradition says it was caused by the devil who, having quarreled with her, trundled his spouse over the ledge in some kind of an infernal vehicle and "dumped" her into a hollow many feet below. The legend is probably of Indian origin.

There were two other Indian villages in close proximity to Sowams, "Kickemuit," situated around the spring of that name, and "Montaup" at the hill now known as "Mount Hope." The old Indian trail, a portion of which now constitutes "Metacom Avenue," led from the latter place through Kickemuit to Swansea. Along this trail Philip's warriors hastened on that memorable June Sabbath when the houses of the Swansea colonists were raided. At a point on the right bank of the Kickemuit near the present pumping station, the Indians, a few days later, set up on poles the heads of eight Englishmen whom they had captured at Mattapoisett (Gardner's Neck in Swansea). The white men who pursued them, took down these ghastly remains of their murdered comrades and buried them by the river. The eight skulls were accidentally exhumed some years ago. A few miles below, at "Weypoisett" or the "narrows" of the river, the English, against the advice of Capt. Benjamin Church, built a fort "to maintain the first ground they had gained by the Indians leaving it to them." While this fort was in process of construction, Philip and his warriors, who had retreated to Mount Hope, escaped in their canoes to Tiverton.

On the 29th of March, 1653, "Osamequin and Wamsetto his son, for and in consequence of thirty-five pounds stirling," sold Sowams and parts adjacent to the English. The original proprietors were Thomas Prince, Thomas Willet, Myles Standish, Josiah Winslow, William Bradford, Sr., Thomas

Clark, John Winslow, Thomas Cushman, William White, John Adams, and Experience Mitchell. Settlers rapidly located in the Sowams territory. The proprietors' record gives the names of more than forty persons who owned land in 1670. Among these names, appears that of Hugh Cole. Mr. Cole settled, at an early date, in what is now Swansea, upon the banks of the river which still bears his name. He purchased his land of King Philip, and a warm friendship sprang up between the two men which endured until Philip's death. Once when asked the cause of his affection for Mr. Cole, Philip replied, "He is the one Englishman who has never told me a lie." The following anecdote will illustrate the depth of the esteem cherished by the sachem for his white friend. Prior to the actual breaking out of the war, the Indians frequently raided the houses of the English. One evening, as Mr. Cole's family sat around the supper-table, an Indian runner was observed approaching the house. Philip's men being frequent visitors, the family felt no uneasiness. The Indian paused at the door of the house for a moment, then darted quickly away. Upon investigation, Mr. Cole found affixed above the entrance, three eagle's feathers — the royal insignia of the savage monarch. That night many homes were burned and plundered, but that of Hugh Cole remained unmolested. A few days later, Mr. Cole's two sons, John and Hugh, were captured and taken to Mt. Hope. Philip treated the boys with great kindness and sent them home with a message advising their father to flee to Aquidneck, as he could no longer restrain his warriors. Mr. Cole at once acted upon this advice, and his boat had hardly entered Mt. Hope Bay before he beheld his house in flames. At the close of the war he returned to Sowams settling upon the left bank of the Kickemuit.

It was towards Pokanoket that the exiled Roger Williams turned his weary steps. "Sowams is pleasant for a habitation," he wrote, and truly it would be difficult to find a fairer spot. It seems a pity that the aboriginal name was ever discarded. And how strange that its meaning is unknown. It is noticeable that the early writers generally speak of the Sowams as "the great river." Does "Sowams" mean "Great River"?

Who can tell? Year by year the past fades farther from us. Of the red men, who once peopled these shores, nothing remains but a few rhythmical names, a few shadowy legends, here and there, at our feet, a shattered pipe of clay, a broken stone vessel, a splintered arrowhead and — the land we wrested from their grasp.

"A buried world lies close beneath our feet,
O'er a whole peoples sepulchre we tread;
Yet who of all the living may repeat
The story of the dead?"

VIRGINIA BAKER.

Warren, R. I., September, 1894.

THE GREAT GALE OF SEPT. 23, 1815.

A SKETCH BY MRS. ESTHER HOPPIN E. LARDNER OF PHILADELPHIA, A SISTER OF THE LATE GEORGE HOPPIN OF PROVIDENCE — CONTRIBUTED BY MR. HENRY F. RICHARDS.

When this wonderful storm* occurred, our mother, born in 1784, was just thirty-one years old and was the mother of seven children. Our father was five years older. He had been educated for practising medicine, but not liking the profession, he devoted himself to the drug and chemical business. At the time of the gale he had just finished a large (for those days) laboratory and lead house for the making of dyestuffs and chemicals of all kinds, large retorts and carboys for vitriol, &c. When set in proper order and all ready for begin-

*In the Art Gallery are two pictures of the scene at the Great Bridge during the gale of Sept. 23, 1815, an account of which may be found on the 69th page of the Society's publications of 1893 (Ed.)

ning work, he found it necessary to go to New York for needful articles for the business.

Our father sailed from Providence only a few days before the storm, leaving our mother with her little flock and one servant in their pleasant home at the corner of Pine and Richmond streets, not far from the river which had never been filled up to make wharves. Consequently the river was very near our house in those days. Diagonally across on the corner where the old Tin Top Meeting House now stands, or very near to it, the lead house had been built.

The weather was fine when our father sailed from Providence, but it soon became cloudy and towards sundown the wind began to blow and all night it howled and roared, increasing in violence as the night wore on. Our mother could not sleep, naturally thinking of her husband on his long voyage of those days on the "great deep." She arose early in the morning to begin the family duties. As day wore on she observed the peculiar appearance of the sky full of dark and wild clouds whirling about in a terrible way. Soon these clouds changed to a red, copper color and began to cast a lurid light around, when the wind increased in violence and nothing could stand before it. Trees were uprooted, branches, boards and shingles were flying through the air. Fences went down, pig pens lay flat, out-buildings fled away. Worst of all, the river soon began to overflow its banks and creep steadily up Pine street, to our corner.

With her children, our mother watched the gradual approach of the river, becoming each moment more raging and violent. As it reached the laboratory they saw it and the new lead house begin to move and tremble with every bang of the fierce wind and surging water.

The head man who had charge of the works had come to her aid and stood beside her. Suddenly, she said, "William, look at the heavy roof of the lead house." He turned with an exclamation of terror as he saw a corner of the roof lifted up, and then, almost immediately, the whole roof rolled up like a sheet of paper, and sailed off through the air. Then the lower part of the building shivered, tottered and sank into the water and all was over and the houses gone.

After this she knew her husband was ruined. She cared only to get her children into a place of safety and they were taken one by one into a neighbor's house farther up the street. My mother waded through the water above her hips.

By the time the wind began to fall and the floods abate, most wonderful sights came into view. Destruction and desolation were everywhere. In place of the trim and pretty garden with its fruit trees, bushes, corn and flowers, was a mass of mud and rubbish, the ground covered with boards, fences and pig pens.

In Westminster and other streets near the river, the tide had risen to a wonderful height, carrying away the bridge and rushing and surging up the streets, carried barrels of all sizes. Houses, boats and trees were tossed and tumbled about in dire confusion. The ship "Ganges," made its way far up the cove and was left high and dry when the water abated.

Our grandparents lived on Hydraulion street, near the river, with our great-grandmother, Lydia Mason (Family Lancaster), the widow of Noah Mason. She was over ninety years of age and too feeble to be moved out of the house, but she was taken on her bed to the attic where all the family assembled. When the violence of the storm had abated, our grandfather made his way over mountains of rubbish to a street opening into Weybosset street, some distance from the house, and there he fortunately met our eldest brother who had been sent out by his mother, his hat tied upon his head. The boy had climbed over rubbish and ruins of all kinds to try to learn news of our grandparents. When the two sighted each other they found it impossible to climb over the barriers between them, but they were near enough for grandpa to call out through his hands, "Ship ahoy! Stay where you are. All's well!"

Afterwards, our grandfather told the story of his family sufferings. The water rose around his house above the first story windows and they escaped to the attic, having only time to carry a few necessary articles with them, among them a clothes-horse filled with newly ironed clothes, with some food, &c. Then they watched till the river returned to its natural bounds and they could descend to the wreck and ruin of their rooms below. It was long before they were restored to order

and cleanliness. One carpet was saved after being dug out of the ruins (mud), and was cleansed with shovels. Afterwards it was renovated and became the cover of a best bedroom floor.

Our grandfather, Thomas Weld Philbrook, lost all his valuable papers. Among them was the account of his life during the war of 1776, his imprisonment in the old "Jersey Prison Ship," with journals of his long voyages to the ends of the earth, visits to Russia, France and other foreign countries; — not a trace of them was left.

All sorts of queer things had happened while they were shut up in the garret room. One among many others was the finding of Aunt Harriet's best white satin bonnet with its long white veil hanging to the crane in the big old kitchen chimney. Another was the finding of a blue dey pitcher resting between the walls of the house and its stone foundation. The house had been tilted sufficiently by the water, as it broke against it, for the pitcher to roll into a corner where it rested and was taken out uninjured.

We had for many years a picture of the Great Gale, which we used to study with awe. The escape of our Uncle Benjamin [Hoppin] was wonderful. He had just reached the end of the bridge when it was swept off and he saved his life by clinging to the railing of the old Insurance Office, nearly tearing his nails off while clinging and scrambling to land.

Mr. William Aplin* was another attractive sight; also the man in the whip-shop who was carried away while busily engaged in his shop; also the small house with the old woman who was baking her bread, and, unwilling to leave until the batch was done, was carried away.

When the storm abated, a cow was found in Mr. Pettis' front chamber on his wife's bed, and Abner Kingman found in his best china closet five or six young pigs.

*In each of the pictures referred to in a previous note is the rude representation of a human being clinging to a plank for dear life, as he was borne up into the cove basin with ships, boats, out-buildings, lumber and a mass of heterogeneous rubbish. This person was the late Judge William Aplin, who subsequently played a conspicuous part in the politics of his native town and city. His sisters Frances and Emily Aplin, served here the cause of Christian charity. His son Charles, who was long a useful member of this Society, once spoke to the writer of this note of this incident in his father's life, and particularly of his painful emotions on being so long at the mercy of the angry waves.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES.

JACKSON.

Stephen Jackson, of Providence, R. I., was born in 1700, in Kilkenny, Ireland. He came to America, it is said, in 1724, to escape political persecution. He married 1725, Aug. 15, Anne Boone, daughter of Samuel and Mary Boone, of North Kingstown, R. I. He hired land in Providence in 1745, and at this period is called "schoolmaster." He bought and sold several parcels of land subsequently. In 1762, he and his son Samuel bought of Stephen Hopkins, land on the new street, called Benefit street, where they were then living. Stephen Jackson died 1765, July 22, and was buried in the North Burial Ground. His wife Anne was born 1709, Sep. 18. She died at Pomfret, Ct., 1782, Jan. 30.

Stephen and Anne (Boone) Jackson had children as follows :

1. George, b. 1727; m. Lydia Harris, daughter of Toleration and Sarah (Foster) Harris. He died 1769, Mar. 1. His will mentions wife Lydia, daughter Lydia and son Joseph. He was a "noted commander."
2. Samuel, b. 1729; d. 1811, Sept. 6.
3. David, b. m. Deborah Field, 1751, Oct. 9.
4. Richard, b. 1731, May 10; m. Susan Waterman, 1760, Dec. 31, daughter of Nathan and Phebe (Smith) Waterman. He died 1818, Dec. 29. His seven childrens' births are upon record. His son Nathan W., was many years town clerk; Stephen was cashier of Exchange Bank; and Richard was President of Washington Insurance Company. (Richard, Jr.'s son Charles was Governor of Rhode Island.)
5. Anne, b. 1736, May 12; d. 1753, Nov. 20.
6. Judith, b. 1738, Nov.; m. Simeon Thayer, 1759, Feb. 7. She died 1771, April 28.
7. Mary, b. m. Ezekiel Burr, 1759, Nov. 7, son of David and Sarah.
8. Elizabeth, b. 1743, May 23; m. William Lanksford, 1766, April 21. She died 1812, Jan. 27.
9. Susannah, b. d. 1772, June.

1. Thomas, b. 1747; m. Mary Brown, 1778, Sept. 14, daughter of Richard. He died 1807, March 17. His widow's will (in 1834) mentions son Samuel, grandchildren, &c.

Sally, b. 1753; m. Tilly Merrick Olney, 1772, Feb., daughter of Joseph and Elizabeth (Mawney) Olney. She died 1785, Sept.

Nancy, b. 1756, Nov. 8; m. (1) John Angell, 1785, April 3; m. (2) Simeon Thayer; m. (3) Darius Daniels. She died 1803, March 9.

e above is not contributed as by any means a complete .d, but simply as suggestive, and to save some stray .emoranda part of them found in archives of R. I. Historical Society.

Query (A). Is there not a manuscript account of this family in existence, and if so, where?

Query (B). Was Daniel Jackson, who was born in Boston, but who lived in Providence, a relative of this family? His record was as follows :

Daniel Jackson, b. 1742, April 2; m. Roby Hawkins, 1765, Nov. 4. He died 1806, May 21. His will mentions children Samuel, John T. (father of Daniel, Ephraim and Benjamin M., &c.), Benjamin M., Amey (wife of Bernon Dun), Ruth (wife of Lewis Bosworth), and Polly.

CHECKLEY AND PAGET.

Rev. John Checkley, born 1680, in Boston, Mass., was married to Rebecca Miller, 1713, May 28, at Milton, Mass., by Rev. Peter Thatcher. Mr. Checkley's wife was a sister of Rev. Dr. Miller, of Braintree, Mass. For several years Mr. Checkley was rector of St. John's Church, Providence, R. I. He died 1754, Feb. 15. In his will he leaves all his property, both real and personal, to his wife, except legacies of £20 each to his granddaughters Ann and Rebecca Paget. His widow was buried in St. John's Church yard, 1775, Nov. 27. Deborah Checkley, born 1717, Oct. 13, daughter of Rev. John and Rebecca (Miller) Checkley, married Henry Paget, of Providence, R. I. He was born 1715, April 15, and died 1772, Jan. 15. She died in 1793, April 15. Both were buried in St. John's Church yard. They had children as follows :

1. Ann, b. m. Joseph Olney, 1762, Nov. 28, son of Joseph and

Sarah (Pierce) Olney. Their daughter Rebecca married Dr. Henry Malcolm, of Philadelphia.

2. Rebecca, b. m. Joseph Harrison, 1776, June 2.
3. Henry, b. 1750; buried, 1760, Oct. 10.
4. Angelica, b. 1754; buried 1760, Sept. 28.

NOTE.—"Updike's History of Narragansett Church," gives a good account of Rev. John Checkley, and something relative to his son John, who died before his father. It errs however in giving the name of his daughter as Rebecca, instead of Deborah.

AUDLEY (ODLIN).

John Audley, of Boston, cutler and armorer, was born in 1602, and died in 1685, Dec. 18. His wife, Margaret, died before 1685. His will was dated 1685, March 3,—proved 1686, Jan. 11. Executor, son Elisha. He mentions sons Elisha, John and Peter, and granddaughter Hannah Bumstead. Though he does not mention daughters, it is known that he had at least two, who married Rhode Islanders. John Audley and wife Margaret had children as follows:

1. John, b. 1635, June 3; d. young.
2. Hannah, b. 1638, Feb. 9; d. young.
3. Elisha, b. 1640; m. Abigail Bright, 1659, August; daughter of Henry and Ann (Goldstone) Bright. He died at Boston about 1724.
4. John, b. 1642, Feb. 3; m. Martha ——. He died at Newport, R. I., 1711, Dec. 13.
5. Hannah, b. 1643, October; married Jonathan Davol, son of William Davol. He lived at Newport, R. I., and later at Dartmouth, Mass.
6. Peter, b. 1646, July.
7. Ann, b. m. Jeremiah Clarke, son of Jeremiah and Frances (Latham) Clarke. He died at Newport, R. I., 1729, Jan. 16. She died 1732, Dec. 15.

J. O. A.

FINNEY OR PHINNEY FAMILY.

Information in regard to the descendants of John Finney, the Pilgrim, who settled in Bristol, R. I., in 1680, on both male and female sides. Full dates of births, marriages and deaths are desired. F. C. Clark, 186 Benefit street, Providence, R. I.

BRIEF SKETCHES, NOTES AND CULLINGS.

Under some appropriate heading will appear, it is hoped, in each quarterly publication, paragraphs suited to the needs of persons of various tastes. To this end contributions are solicited. Genealogists, antiquarians and searchers after various kinds of information may well take part in determining the character of this department. Notes and queries will be in order.

NOTE ON MANUSCRIPTS FROM THE NATIONAL ARCHIVES.

In this number of the Society's quarterly is the beginning of a collection of papers that pertain to Rhode Island Revolutionary history — papers that are here printed for the first time. The Society is indebted to Mr. S. M. Hamilton, who is connected with the Department of State at Washington, for selecting these papers from a mass of material in the national archives and for certifying the exactness of the copies made under his supervision. Mr. Hamilton's interest in the work in which he is engaged, his understanding of what is needed and his realization of the responsibility devolving on him are manifested in several letters addressed to the Secretary of the Society. He regrets his inability to present these papers with due regard to chronological order or relation of subjects. Several of his brief notes in brackets shed light on the subjects under consideration. His readiness or rather his desire to revise and correct proofs evinces devotion to his work.

Two communications that relate in some way to Rhode Island not being represented in the constitutional convention of 1787, can hardly fail to be read with interest. The first of these on the printed page is dated Newport, June 18, 1787, and is addressed to General Washington. Though not signed, a pencil mark indicates its probable author. The second one, dated Providence, May 11th of that year, is addressed to the chair-

man of the convention and is signed by thirteen well-known citizens of that town.

The letter of Benjamin Waterhouse to Thomas Jefferson, written at Newport thirty-five years after the communications just named, and seventy-two years ago, has for its subject not politics, but religion. Giving a vivid idea of the religious condition, public institutions and distinguished men of Newport and Boston at that time, it is sure to interest a large class of readers.

The military papers are preserved among the papers of Washington. Mr. H. says, "This particular class is composed of weekly or monthly returns of the army; reports of inspectors, the quartermasters and other officers for superintending the arrangement of the different lines. Washington kept these reports constantly by him in the camp. Thus their value from so intimate association with him is increased a hundred fold.

"Possibly little that is not already known respecting names and rank will be afforded by the papers I now send; but the details are new and the manner in which they are given meets (so it seems to me) more fully the necessity for absolute exactness in historical work than the mere adaptation of manuscripts by editor or compiler. Many of the lists might appear useless repetition; but my view is that each and every scrap of paper is of unquestionable utility to the student of history. It requires often each duplicate or triplicate to show the progressive stages in the consideration of the subject or each movement in the execution of a plan as exhibited and formulated by its author."

The first military paper here is the fac-simile of the oath of Nathanael Greene as quartermaster, and the second his oath as major-general, yet these are the third and the fourth on the original record, Washington's oath being first and General Charles Lee's, second. The whole of one long letter of Mr. Hamilton should be printed as it does honor to numerous Rhode Island worthies of that period.

The military papers sent by Mr. Hamilton, are numbered from 1 to 18. Of these only the first five are printed. The numerical order of these has been slightly changed for con-

venience in tabulation. The letter of Governor Cooke, dated Nov. 6, 1776, is omitted by vote of the committee for the reason there stated. These are by no means the most interesting papers, but they are given because they come first on the list.

The library and publication committees have expressed their appreciation of the copies furnished by Mr. Hamilton and their opinion that the work should be carried forward as begun. No opinion has been expressed as to whether a part or all of these papers should be printed, or, if printed, when and how. The action taken will doubtless depend on whether the requisite funds are provided. Friends of action should then show their interest in this matter by substantial aid.

THE SOCIETY'S QUARTERLY.

This publication was begun with the understanding that it should embrace "Proceedings (as in years before), original and meritorious papers read before the Society and rare and meritorious manuscripts in its possession." Since then a change in its conduct has been suggested and at the last July quarterly meeting a resolution was adopted, virtually requiring a change. The publication is still to embrace the kinds of material in the original programme. But the articles are to be, as far as possible, brief, with the view of having some variety in each issue. To this end, the most successful historical quarterlies exclude long articles. One editor excludes every article that exceeds eight pages, except on the condition that its author pay $2 for every additional page. All the editors with whom the writer of this note has communicated adopt various devices to secure brief, crisp articles, and thus interest in their publications a larger number of readers and patrons. It is fair to infer that this Society must adopt business rules or fail to secure the best results. The way is open for a well-organized movement in the interest of the Society and of the State. There is need of a publication that shall serve as an organ of earnest and judicious workers in our historical field.

Difficulties in the way cause some members of the Society to shrink from the enterprise. Funds are needed. Our treasurer gives words of warning. He says, "get the money before you spend it." But we say, let the interest be felt and the needed funds will be forthcoming. Our quarterly must be sustained. To this end it must be conducted—not by a committee of three, five or ten. It must have an editor with those around him on whom he can depend for contributions, counsel and aid. This quarterly has, despite its triple head, accomplished good in many ways. The Society is better known than ever before. Interest in its ability to help solve important historical problems is strengthened. The way is paved for a step upward.

The Society lived virtually from hand to mouth during a period of sixty-seven years. Within the last five years, however, it has received into its treasury about fifty thousand dollars, one-half of which has been expended upon its building, and the other half is a fund whose interest alone can be touched. The Society was never in so good a condition as at present; yet it never needed funds so much as now. These funds are needed to secure a competent clerical force to put in order accumulated material; to bind and purchase books, and to carry forward publication enterprises that are imperatively demanded. A publication fund of one hundred thousand dollars is needed, and will in our opinion be provided if proper efforts be made to this end. Rhode Islanders are disposed to stand by their institutions. They are proud of their history and wish to see it set forth by persons "to the manor born." They wish to obtain accurate information about the founders and benefactors of their State. This Society is bound by its origin and antecedents to help them in their researches. Its quarterly may do something to this end. Its publication is worthy of consideration as a business enterprise. Quickening the life and enlarging the sphere of influence of the Society it can hardly fail to cause many names to be added to the roll, and thus replenish the treasury by initiation fees and annual taxes.

The membership of the Society has been doubled within a comparatively few years. It can be doubled again with advantage to all concerned.

PUBLIC RESERVATIONS.

This phrase is invested with renewed interest by several hundred of the most intelligent and public-spirited citizens of Massachusetts incorporated as Trustees of Public Reservations. A hundred of these citizens met at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Boston, in 1891, with the special object of facilitating the preservation and dedication to public enjoyment of such scenes and sites in Massachsetts as possess either uncommon beauty or historical interest. This organization has already issued three annual reports of much interest and value. It has secured for public use important reservations and exerted an influence for the well-being of people who dwell far outside the Bay State.

Workers in a like field of labor are needed in Rhode Island. We have many scenes and sites that, possessing uncommon beauty and historic interest, should be preserved. Some of our hills and forests should be dedicated to public enjoyment. Some sites of aboriginal or Revolutionary scenes and events, should be appropriately marked and a knowledge of them thus handed down. The cause of history, civilization and humanity can be sustained and promoted only by organized efforts in this direction.

Our Public Park Association; our Advance Club; our improvement societies; our mechanical and agricultural associations; our societies that seek to perpetuate the memory of the founders and benefactors of this republic — these and other organizations, educational, philosophical and religious, that have in view the public weal, promise much good, and this Historical Society cannot afford to stand aloof. Nay, it can and should turn its benevolent eyes towards their fields of labor, and second the efforts they are putting forth to ennoble the life and increase the happiness of the denizens of this little portion of God's earth. It can facilitate their work by preserving their records and they can help the Society by furnishing it with complete sets of their published reports. A similar relation is sustained between the Society and the town and city governments of the State. Its ability to help them depends on their furnishing it with their published reports, and this favor is respectfully asked.

PROVIDENCE STATISTICS.

[From R. I. Hist. Society's MSS., No. 410, Vol. II., p. 155. The signature of W. G. Goddard, implies that the paper once belonged to him.]

"Providence January th 1768

Account of the houses and the number of the inhabitants the West Side the Bridge

the houses	102
Men above 21 Years of age	186
Women above 21 years of age	185
Men from 14 to 21	97
Women from 14 to 21	60
Boys from 5 to 14	82
Girls from 5 to 14	107
Children to 5 years	147
Negros mails	21
and femails	26
Total	911
White Peopel	864
Negros	47
Children from 5 to 7 Which are Fit for schooling	189

This is a true account"

(On the back of the paper is the following).

"Bought in Providence December 12, 1767 Price Six Pence. L. Mony"

QUERIES.

In March, 1823, a publication was begun in Providence, entitled: "'The Ladies' Magazine,' intended to aid in the cause of piety, religion and morality. Edited by a Lady. Printed by John Miller. Price, $2 a year." This library contains only the first nine numbers. Queries. — Who was the lady editor? How many numbers were printed? Can a complete set of the publication be furnished the library?

INFORMATION AS TO THE SOCIETY'S QUARTERLY.

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Publication Committee:

JAMES G. VOSE, AMASA M. EATON,
WILFRED H. MUNRO, JOHN H. STINESS,
AMOS PERRY.

APPOINTMENTS OF THE OFFICERS IN THE FIRST RHODE ISLAND BATTALLION, 1777.

CAMP, December 16th, 1777

SIR—

The within List contains a true account of the appointments of the Officers of the first Rhode Island Battalion according to the present Establishment, and their present Ranks; and we desire they may receive Commissions expressive thereof.

J VARNUM B. Genl.
C. GREENE Coln
I. ANGELL Colo.

His Excellency Genl Washington.

	Time of appoint.
Col: Christopher Greene	1st Jany
Lt. Col. Adam Comstock	do
Major Saml Ward	do
Capt. Ebenr Flagg	do
Capt. Silas Talbut	do
Capt. Elijah Lewis	do
Capt. Oliver Clarke	11th Febr
Capt. Thomas Cole	1st Jany
Capt. John S. Dexter	do
Capt. Thomas Arnold	21st March
Capt. Jonathan Wallen	1st Jany
Lieut. Joseph Arnold	do
Lieut. Joseph Whitmarsh	do
Lieut Edward Slocum	do
Lieut Daniel Pierce	11th Febr
Lieut William Davis	do
Lieut Micah Whitmarsh	14th do
Lieut Saml Hicks	17th Apl
Lieut Elias Hull	1st Jany
2d Lt Elias Thompson	19th Feb

	Time of appoint.
2d Lt. Robert Rogers	20th do
2d Lt. Saml. Arnold	11th Feb
2d Lt. Zephaniah Brown	do
2d Enoch Stanton	20th do
2d Lt. Gideon Casey	do
2d Lt. John Pierce	17th do
2d Lt. David Johnson	11th do
Ens. Charles Pierce	do
Ens. Elias Blanchard	do
Ens. Joseph Cornell	20 June
Ens. Stephen Briggs	20 Feby
Ens. John Bowls	24 June
Ens. Daniel P. Tillinghast	11th Feby
Ens. Dan Greene	11th Apl
Ens. Simeon Smith	7th June

STAFF.

Chapn Charles Thompson	17th March
Surgeon Peter Turner	10th May
Mate James Palascum	26th do
Adjt. John Holden	1st Jany
Qr Mr. John Cooke	1st May
P. Masr Griffin Greene	18 July

[Endorsed] Arrangement of Colo. Greenes R. Isld Regt Commissioned except the Staff.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE RHODE ISLAND BATTALIONS.

FIRST REGIMENT.

Colo. Christopher Greene
Lt Col Adam Comstock
Major Samuel Ward
Captains—
1 Ebenezer Flagg
2 Elijah Lewis
3 Thomas Cole
4 John S. Dexter
5 Thomas Arnold
6 Daniel Peirce

Captain Lieut Edward Slocum
Lieutenants—
1 Joseph Arnold
2 David Johnson
3 Elias Thompson
4 Robert Rodgers
5 John Holden
6 Zephaniah Brown
7 Enoch Stanton
8 Samuel Arnold

Ensigns—
1. Daniel Tillinghast
2. John Cook
3. Charles Pearce
4. Elias Blanchard
5 Joseph Cornall
6 Griffin Greene
7 ~~John Cook~~

Ensigns—
8
9
Adj[t] John Holden
Paymaster
Surgeon Peter Turner
Mate John Parish

N. B. Oliver Clarke Cap. to be restored to his rank if released on the first vacancy.

SECOND RHODE ISLAND REGIMENT.

Colonel Israel Angell.
L[t] Col. Jeremiah Olney
Major Simeon Thayer
Captains—
1. William Tew
2. Coggeshall Olney
3 Stephen Olney
4 William Allen
5 Thomas Hughes
W[m] Humphrey
6. ~~William Potter~~
Capt. Lieut. ~~William Humphrey~~ W[m] Littlefield - 1 Jan ~ 1777.
Lieutenants—
~~1 Ebenezer Macumber~~ Duty Jarald 11 Feb 1777.
~~2 Ebenezer West~~ Tho. C. Waterman do do
~~3 Duty Jerald~~ Ebenezer Macumber June 12, 1777.
~~4 William Littlefield~~ David Sales do do
~~5 Thomas Waterman~~ Oliver Jenks 25 June 1777.
~~6 David Sales~~ Benedict Tew — Jan 1, 1778
~~7 Oliver Jenks~~ Abel Carpenter — do do
~~8 Benedict Tew~~ Thomas Waterman Jr. do. do.
Ensigns—
1 ~~Bethael Curtis~~ rank as 2 Lt
2 ~~Abel Carpenter~~ D[o]
3 ~~Oliver Dexter~~ D[o]
~~4 Thomas Waterman Junr~~
1 5 Benjamin Peckham July 11, 1777.
~~6 Elijah Hawkins~~
~~7 David Lawrence~~
~~8 John Veal (?)~~
~~9 Josiah Thornton~~
Adjutant Thomas Waterman
Paymaster
Surgeon Samuel Tenny
Mate Elias Cornelius

ARRANGEMENT OF THE RHODE ISLAND BATTALIONS.

[*Arrangement at White Plains known as the "Arrangement of Nov. 15, '78."*]

FIRST REGIMENT.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of Commission.
Colonel	Christopher Greene	
Lt. Colonel	Adam Cumstock	
Major	Samuel Ward	
Captains	1. Ebenezer Flagg	
	2. Elijah Lewis	
	3. Thomas Cole	
	4. John S. Dexter	
	5. Thomas Arnold	
	6. Daniel Pierce	
Captain Lieut.	Edward Slocum	
Lieutenants	1. Joseph Arnold	
	2. David Johnson	
	3. Elias Thompson	
	4. Robert Rodgers	
	5. John Holden	
	6. Zephaniah Brown	
	7. Enoch Stanton	
	8. Samuel Arnold	
Ensigns	1. Daniel Tillinghast	
	2. John Cook	
	3. Charles Pierce	
	4. Elias Blanchard	
	5. Joseph Cornal	
	6. Griffin Greene	
	7.	
	8.	
	9.	
Pay Master		
Adjutant	John Holden	
Quarter Master.		
Surgeon	Peter Turner	
Mate	John Parish	

N. B. Oliver Clark Cap. to be restored to his Rank if released upon the first Vacancy.

SECOND REGIMENT.

Rank.	Names.	Dates of Commissions.
Colonel.....	Israel Angell.....	.....
Lt. Colonel.....	Jeremiah Olney	.....
Major.....	Simion Thayer.....	.....
Captains.....	1. William Tew.....	.....
	2. Coggeshaell Olney.....	.....
	3. Stephen Olney.....	.....
	4. William Allen	.....
	5. Thomas Hughes.....	.....
	6. Wm Potter.....	.....
Captain Lieut..	William Humphrey.....	.....
Lieutenants..	1. Ebenezer Maiumber.....	.....
	2. Ebenezer West.....	.....
	3. Duty Jarold.....	.....
	4. William Littlefield.....	.....
	5. Thomas Waterman.....	.....
	6. David Sales.....	.....
	7. Oliver Jenks.....	.....
	8. Benedict Tew.....	.....
Ensigns	1. Bethuel Curtis Rank as 2d Lieut..	.....
	2. Abel Carpenter do ..	.....
	3. Oliver Dexter do ..	.....
	4. Thomas Waterman Jr.....	.....
	5. Benjamin Peckum.....	.....
	6. Elijah Hawkins.....	.....
	7. David Laurence.....	.....
	8. John Vial.....	.....
	9. Jonah Thornton	.....
Pay Master....	Thomas Waterman.....	.....
Adjutant.....	.....	.....
Quarter Master.	.....	.....
Surgeon.....	Samuel Tenny	.....
Mate	Elias Cornelius.....	.....

RHODE ISLAND ARRANGEMENT.

OFFICERS ON THE SUPERNUMERY LIST.

To be specially Recommended.	Supernumy not Recommended.
1st Regt.	
1. Cap. Jonathan Wallen	1. Lt. Mical Whitmarsh
2. Lt. Elias Hull	2. Lt. Wm Davis.
3. Lt. Gideon Oakes	
4. Lt. David Johnson	
2d Regt.	
1. Dan. Box Brigr Major— Wounded, and unfit for the Service———	1. David Dexter Cap.
2. Nathan Wix Lt. lost an Eye in the Service——	2. Lt. Simeon Jennings.

[Endorsement] Arrangement of New Hampshire—Massachusetts and Rhode Island—and Connecticut—
By Committee at White Plains with some few alterations.
Copy.

Arrangement of Officers in Colonel Israel Angell Regiment, Viz.t

Field Officers.

Israel Angell Colonel appointed January 13th, 1777
Jeremiah Olney Lieut Colonel do do do
Simon Thayer Major January 1st do

Staff Officers.

Samuel Tenny Surgeon appointed Jany 1st, 1777
Elias Cornelius Surgeons Mate do do do
Thomas C. Waterman Lieut & Adjutant
Abel Carpenter Lieut & Quarter Master

Captains.	Time of Appointment.	Lieutenants.	Time of Appointment.	Ensigns.	Time of Appointment.
1 William Tew	January 1st 1777	William Littlefield	January 1st 1777	Benjamin L. Pukhain	Feby. 11th 1777——
2 Coggeshall Olny	do do do	Dexter Jerould	February 11th do		
3 Stephen Olny	do do do	Thomas C. Waterman	do do do		
4 William Allen	do do do	Ebenezer Macombar	June 12 do		
5 Thomas Hughes	June 23d do	David Sayles	do do do		
6 William Humphrey	October 22d do	Oliver Jenks	June 25th do		
		Benedict Tew	January 1st 1778		
		Abel Carpenter	do do do		
		Thomas Waterman	do do do		

Warren 21st Decr 1778

Israel Angell Colo

CAMP 22d Decr 1777

SIR—

Ensign Bowles of Colo. Greene's Battalion applies for a Discharge from the Army. Since his ingaging this Campain, his Father died, and left a Widow, whose whole Dependence is upon the Ensign, he being her only Son. The Colo. recommends him to me, and I am persuaded it will be best for him to obtain his Request.

I am your Excellency's most obdt Servt

J VARNUM

His Excellency Genl Washington.

[Endorsed] Ensign Bowles Colo. Greens Regt from R. Island resigned Dec 27th 1777

CAMP VALLEY FORGE March 7th 1778

SIR

This may certify that Lt. Joseph Whitmarsh is not indebted to the United States.

I am Sir your Humble Servt

ISRAIL ANGELL Colo.

To His Excellency
Genl Washington

CAMP Feby 15th, 1778——

SIR—

Lt. Samuel Hicks of Colo Greene's Battalion applies for Liberty to resign his Commission; I am acquainted with him and the Seperation of his Family, & know that Necessity, not choice, impells him to the measure.

I am your Excellency's most obdt. Servant

J VARNUM

Excellency Genl Washington.

CAMP VALLEY FORGE Febry 19th 1778.

SIR

These may certify that Lt. Samuel Hicks of Colo Greenes Regt is not indebted to the Regt nor Continent——

I am Sir your most obedient,
and most Humble Servt
ISRAEL ANGELL Colo.

To His Excellency
General Washington

CAMP VALLEY FORGE 3rd May 1778.

TO WHOM CONCERN'D

This Certifies that Lieut Bethuel Curtis is not Indebted to the State, or Continent, to my knowledge.

JEREH OLNEY Lt. Colo

CAMP VALLEY FORGE May 2d 1778.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY :

I have served three Campaigns without Censure, and have bin obliged to spend a Considerable sum of money more than my Wages amount too : My Private fund is now almoste Exhausted and my helth Grately impaired ; which renders me unfit to indure the Fatigues of the insueing Campaign—

I do therefore moste Earnestly beg that his Excellency would be pleased to grant me leave to resign my Commission which will Ever exite the Gratefull thanks of of your moste affectionate

Moste Humbl Serv——
BETHUEL CURTIS 2d Lieut
In Colo. I. Angells Regiment

His Excellency Genl Washington.

CAMP VALLEY FORGE March 8th 1778

SIR

Whereas Lt Joseph Whitmarsh of Colo Greens Regt. has apply'd to me for a Recommendation for a discharge from the Service, for the following reasons, 1st as the Settlement of the Rank in the Regt. now stands, seems agreeable to the Field officers, and he would by no means wish to create any uneasiness in the Regt as it would Destroy the end and design of his Entering the Service. 2d under his present Situation he cannot be easy, and the Removal of the cause would be very Disagreable to many of the Officers in the Regt by which means it would make his case unhappy, for these Reasons he choses to retire from the Servis [although Lt. Whitmarsh is a good officer] Considering the above Circumstances Shall Reccommend him to your Honour for a discharge, and give it as my opinion he ought to have an Honourable one.

I am Sir your most obt Humble Servt

ISRAEL ANGELL Col.

To Genl. Varnum

CAMP March 8th 1778

Lt. Whitmarsh is hereby recommended for a Discharge from the Service——

J VARNUM

His Excell Genl Washington.——

(Endorsed) Lieut. Joseph Whitmarsh of Colo. Greenes Regt from the State of Rhode Island = Resignd = 8th March 1778

CAMP (Paramies) July 13th 1778—

Ensign Hawkins of my Regiment being dissatisfied in remaining in the Service; as his Wages are not sufficient to maintain him in the Character he at present sustains, and he not being in Debt to the Publick I do recommend him to Your Excellency for a Discharge.

ISRAEL ANGELL Col.

His Excellency Genl. Washington

VALLEY FORGE Decr 27, 1777.

This may sertifie that I have as much money in my hands of Ens. John Bowles's as will pay all the Debts due to the Contenent from him as far as I know from the nature of my office.

GRIFFIN GREENE P. Mas.
Col^{o} Christopher Greene's Regt.

NOTE.—Though these military papers are brought out without regard to chronological order or connection of subjects, they are examined with interest by persons who desire to understand the military history of the State during the Revolutionary War. In the absence of such official rolls as are ordinarily kept and preserved by a State, they serve an important purpose, at least as side lights to a picture. Names have been found on these lists by persons studying their ancestral history — names which are not in "Cowell's Spirit of '76," nor found elsewhere, and facts are communicated that give a clearer idea of the way in which the war was conducted. The history of our continental regiments cannot be properly written without the aid of these papers. These are some of the considerations that lead to the printing of these papers, word for word and letter for letter. [Ed.]

Inspection Return of the 2nd Rhode Island Regiment of Foot in the Service of the United States of America Commanded by Colonel Israel Angell for the Month of Feby 1780

Companies.	Officers present fit for Duty.																		Rank & File.							Wanting to Compleat.		
	Field.			Commissioned.				Staff.					Non-commissioned.																
	Colonel.	Lt. Colonel.	Major.	Captains.	Capt. Lieuts.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Adjutant.	Pay Master.	Qr. Master.	Surgeon.	Mate.	Serjt. Major.	Qr. Mr. Serjt.	Drum Major.	Fife Major.	Serjeants.	Drums & Fifes.	Prest Fit for Duty.	Sick Present.	Sick Absent.	On Extra Service.	On Command.	On Furlough.	Total.	Serjeants.	Drummers & Fifers.	Rank & File.
Light Infantry	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	31	1	..	1	2	10	45	..	..	..
1st Company	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	1	1	20	..	..	1	2	4	27	..	..	29
Colonels Do	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	18	1	..	1	2	7	29	..	..	27
4th Company	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..	17	1	1	..	2	5	26	..	..	30
Majors Do	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	2	24	..	..	2	1	1	28	..	..	28
3d Company	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	23	..	1	..	2	2	28	1	1	28
Lt. Colonels Do	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	18	..	1	1	1	2	23	..	..	33
5th Company	.	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	19	..	..	1	1	5	26	1	1	30
2nd Company	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	1	24	..	..	2	2	1	29	..	1	27
Total	1	..	1	3	..	2	5	..	1	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	14	9	194	3	3	9	15	37	261	2	3	243
Sick Present	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..										
Sick Absent	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	1	..										
On Command	..	..	..	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	5	1										
On Furlough	..	1	..	2	..	3	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	..	1	1	5	5										
Recruiting	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..										
Vacant	..	..	..	..	..	.	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	3										
Prisoners of War	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..										
Under Arrest	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..										
Establishment	1	1	1	5	1	6	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	27	18										

N. B. Abel Heldrick Lt. Infy Compy
Michl. Plafford—— 1st Compy
Wm. Butts —— 5th Do
Jno. Whipple—— 2nd Do

Private Soldiers Inlisted for 3 years recommended to be discharged from the Service on acct. of their old Age & their being Afflicted with Rheumatism & gout their time of Service being expired next May

Arms .....237 Musquets 237 Bayonets 237 Scabbards 236 Gun Slings Good
Accoutrements.....238 Cartridge Boxes 237 Bay^{t} Belts 57 Gun Worms to Screw Drivers 5 Brushes and Prickers 208 Knapsacks 6 Drums & fifes good.
Ammunition.....9412 Cartridges 466 Flints good
Cloathing .....226 Coats 225 Waistcoats 6 pr Breeches 225 pr woolen Overalls 213 Shirts 193 Stocks 270 pr Shoes 235 Hats 48 Blankets 207 woolen Socks & 23 Eppilets good.

ON HAND NOT ISSUED

Arms Accou^{t} & Ammunition ....55 Arms 60 Bayt^{s} 59 Bay^{t} Belts 59 Scabbards 59 Cartridge Boxes 56 Gun Slings 5 gun Worms 1 Screw Driver 200 Flints 365 Cartges good
Cloathing.....106 Coats 105 Waistcoats 103 wool^{n} Overalls 106 Hats 106 Shirts 99 Shoes 121 wool^{n} Socks 108 Stocks 55 Epaulets

DEFICIENCES SINCE LAST INSPECTION

Arms Accou^{ts} & Ammunition....2 Bayonets 2 Scabbards 2 Bay^{t} Belts 4 Gun Worms & 474 Cartridges lost Spoiled or expended in Service 4 Guns 4 Bayt^{s} 2 Cartridge Boxes in the Hands of the Regimental Q^{r} Master not accounted for
Cloathing.....13 Coats 13 Vests 23 Breeches 61 Shirts 11 p^{r} Stockings 86 p^{r} Shoes 18 Blankets used & worn out in Service & 14 Blankets not accounted for

REMARKS.

This Regiment is Well Disciplined & well Clad their Arms are in very good Order.
The above is a true State of the Reg^{t} as Inspected
by me March 2nd 1780
P. REGNIER Sub Inspector.

[Endorsed] Inspection Return of the 2nd Rhode Island Reg^{t} for February 1780

[A. R. Vol. 39. p. 81]

Return of Officers retained in Service in the Rhode Island Battalion.

Names.	Ranks.
Jeremiah Olney	Lieut Colonel Commandant
John S. Dexter	Major
William Allen	Captain
Thomas Hughes	Captain
John Holden	Captain
William Humphrey	Captain
Zephaniah Brown	Captain
Daniel S. Dexter	Captain
John Hubbart	Lieutenant
Chandler Burlingame	Lieutenand & Pay Master
Joseph Wheaton	Lieutenant
John M. Green	Lieutenant
Joseph Massury	Lieutenant
Benjamin Sherburn	Lieutenant
Henry Shearman	Lieutenant
Jeremiah Greenman	Lieutenant and Adjutant
William Pratt	Lieutenant
John Rogers	Lieutenant
William Ennis	Lieutenant
John Welch	Lieutenant and Quarter Master
Robbert Hunter	Ensign
Ephraim Kirby	Ensign
Samuel Tenny	Surgeon

April 18th 1783

~~P Coggs~~ ~~Olney Major Comd~~
~~R I Battalion~~
Jereh Olney Lieut Col. Comd
R. I. B.

[A. R. No 41. p. 99]

RETURN OF OFFICERS RETAINED IN SERVICE IN THE RHODE ISLAND BATTALION.

NAMES.	RANK.
Jeremiah Olney	Lieut Col. Comdt
John S. Dexter	Major
William Allen	Captain
Thomas Hughes	Capta
John Holden	Capta
William Humphrey	Capta
Zephaniah Brown	Capta
Daniel S. Dexter	Capta
John Hubbart	Lieut
Chandler Burlingame	Lieutenant & Pay-Master
Joseph Wheaton	Lieutenant
John M. Green	Lieutenant
Joseph Massury	Lieutenant
Benjamin Sherburn	Lieutenant
Henry Shearman	Lieutenant
Jeremiah Greenman	Lieutenant and Adjutant
William Pratt	Lieutenant
John Rogers	Lieutenant.
William Ennis	Lieutenant.
John Welch	Lieutenant and Quarter Master
Robert Hunter	Ensign
Ephraim Kirby	Ensign
Samuel Tenny	Surgeon.

April 18th 1783

~~P Coggsll Olney Major Comdt~~
~~R. I. Battalion~~
Jereh Olney Lieut Colo Comd
R. I. B.

[Endorsed] Return of Officers continuing in Service
Rho Isld Regimt

RETURN OF THE OFFICERS, SERVING IN THE RHODE ISLAND BATTALION, WITH THEIR NAMES, AND RANK, AS THEY STAND IN THE BATTALION.

NAMES.	RANK.		
Jeremiah Olney.....	Lt Colo Comdt	14th May 1781	
John S. Dexter.....	Major	14 May. 1781	Furlowed by Lord Stirling, till 15th of Apl, now sick at Woodbury.
William Allen.....	Capt.	1st Jan 7. 1777	
Thomas Hughes.....	Do	23d June 1777	
John Holden.....	Do	10th Octr 1777	
William Humphrey...	Do	22 Octr 77	
Zepheniah Brown....	Do	11th Novr 79	at Rhode Island, Commd. by Majr. Olney
Daniel S. Dexter....	Do	14th May 81	
John Hubbart.....	Lieut	18 May 79	
Chandler Burlingame.	Do & P. M.	9th June 79	at Head Quarters, order of Majr. Olney
Joseph Wheaton.....	Do	30th Augst 79	at Albany order Colo. Olney
John M. Green.....	Do	1st May 80	
Joseph Massury.....	Do	24th June 80	
Benjamin Shearburne.	Do	—	
Henry Shearman.....	Do	—	
Jere Greenman.....	Do & Adjt	14th May 81	
William Pratt.....	Do	14th May 81	
John Rogers.....	Do	3d Feby 82	
William Ennis.....	Do	17th March 82	
John Welch.....	Do & Q. M.	1st May 82	
Robert Hunter.....	Ensn	2nd July 81	Furlowed by Lord Stirling till 15th of April
Epraim Kirby.....	Do	23d Augt 82	
Samuel Tenny.....	Surgeon.	1st Jan 7. 77	

N. B. the officers are all present except those accounted for in the Remarks——

Saratoga 25th April 1783

Jereh Olney Lieut Col. Comd

[Endorsed]
Rhode Island
Battalions

RETURN OF 2D RHODE ISLAND REGT OF FOOT ISRAEL ANGELL ESQR COLO RECEIVED DECR 1779

[Inspector General's Return].

OFFICERS PRESENT																	RANK & FILE						WANTING TO COMPLETE		
FIELD			COMMSSD				STAFF					NON COMMISSD													
Colonel	Lt. Colonel	Major	Captains	Capt Lt.	Lieutenants	Ensigns	Adjutants	Pay Master	Qr. Master	Surgeon	Mate	Sergt. Majr.	Qr. Mr. Serg	Drum Majr.	Fife Majr.	Serjeants	Drums & Fifes	Present fit	Sick present	Sick absent	On Command	On Furlough	Total	Serjeants	Drums & fifes	Rank & file
1	..	..	4	..	5	5	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	..	1	23	15	234	12	9	30	..	285	1	3	219
..	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Sick Absent								
..	1	1	2	..	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	On Command								
..	..	..	..	..	..	4	..	..	..	..	..	.	..	1	..	1	3	Vacant								
1	1	1	6	1	8	9	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	27	18	Establishment								

REMARKS

Arms & Accoutrements } See Genl Return
Cloathing }

This Regiment is in very good order, having its officers present & few or no men dispersed about the Country as in most of the other Regiments The Serjeants are well proportioned to the several Companies which are nearly equal.

STEUBEN
Inspector General.

OFFICIAL RECORD OF THE GREAT GALE OF 1815.

By Moses Brown, with an Explanatory Note by John Howland.

At a Town Meeting of the Freemen of the Town of Providence on the tenth day of October A. D. 1818

Voted. That Moses Brown, Tristam Burges, Samuel Eddy, George Jackson and John Howland, Esquires, be a committee to draw up an Historical and topographical account of the Great Storm in this Town, September 23rd A. D. 1815. In order that there may remain a Record in the Town descriptive of an Event so important in its Annals

A true copy
Witness Nathan W. Jackson
Town Clerk.

In pursuance of the above recited Resolution of the Town, Moses Brown, first named therein, drew up the following Statement (which is copied from his Manuscript)

Agreeable to our appointment on the 10th of October 1818, we have collected such facts respecting the Great Storm which occurred on the 23d. of September A. D. 1815 as appeared to us most proper to be Recorded for the information of Posterity, and descriptive of so important a Providential Event.

The Storm of Rain commenced on the 22nd. from the N. E. moderate through the day, but at Night the Wind increased. On the morning of the 23d. the Wind blew with increased severity from the East and about 9 it veered to E. S. E. at 10

or before, South East, and from this time to half after Eleven the Storm was most Tremendous and destructive, beyond, far beyond any in the memory of any man living. Before twelve O,clock the wind Veered to the South west and greatly abated, and the dread of our Citizens, and the Destructive Awful Effects were thus happily checked. The Ebb tide commencing nearly an hour before the regular time of high water, relieved the minds of our Inhabitants from their Apprehensions of a more Overwhelming Calamity. It appeared a great Mercy that the Calamity occurred in the day time, for had it been in the Night season the distress and loss of Lives must have been an Indiscribable addition to a Calamity yet awful to a Reflecting mind.

The Damage by the Extreme Violence of the Wind extended to driving from their Anchors and fastenings all the Vessels save 2 or 3 that lay in the Harbour and at the Wharves, some against the Bridge with such force as to open a free passage for others to follow to the Northern Extremity of the Cove above the Bridge, to the number of between 30 and 40 of various descriptions from 500 tons downwards, among the immense Quantity of Lumber and goods from the wharves and Broken Houses and Stores with their contents. Other Ships and Smaller Vessels were lodged below the place of the Bridge on each side of the River. On the Wharves scarcely a Store that stood below Weybosset Bridge on both Sides of the River, round the Harbour to India Bridge but what was damaged or entirely broken to pieces. Many Houses and Stores Blown down by the excessive violence of the wind, and many others removed or broken by the height of the tide and violence of the Waves; by which India Point Bridge was wholly, and the East and Lowest End of Central Bridge were carried off, and by their Joint Influence the 2nd Baptist Meeting House on the West side of the River was destroyed from the foundation where the new one lately erected now stands. The wind alone blew down, unroofed, and damaged many Houses that stood out of the reach of the water, beyond any thing ever known before in the Town. The trees that were blown in the streets, with the lumber floated up in the low parts of the streets, rendered them im-

passable with Carriages till removed ; a number of people were wounded, and two lost their lives, (David Butler and Reuben Winslow) by the height of water and its violent motions, a number were taken out of houses by Boats. A Sloop of about 60 Tons floated across Weybosset Street and was Lodged in Pleasant Street, her Mast Standing above, and She by the Side of a three Story Brick House as a Monument for a Season by which our Country friends could ascertain the Height of the Tide. They indeed had full evidence of the violence of the Wind for their fruit trees as well as ours, with considerable of their Forest timber were laid prostrate through the country, with much other damage from Boston westward towards New York. One farmer had 140 fruit trees torn up by the Roots. The wind and tide extended their destruction more or less in every Town and Village on the Sea Shore. The amount of damage has never been ascertained but was Estimated to be nearly a Million of Dollars in this Town. It has been considered by Judicious people that the damage in the country by destruction of Timber, fruit trees, Fences, Sheds, etc., was nearly equal to the damage in Town by the violence of the Wind. The Rain was not so heavy as in many Storms, measuring about 2½ Inches, but there was a Remarkable appearance and effect in the thickness of the Atmosphere by reason of the extreme violence of the wind taking up the Spray of the Sea water and wafting it through the Air to that degree as to appear on Glass Windows salt to the taste 40 miles into the country, even to Worcester, and lying on our Windows in this Town for a week so as to taste salt.

This storm seems to have affected all classes of men more or less, and has verified the maxim that no man is out of the reach of the Elements whatever his situation or calling may be, and it Should Humble us under a sense of our dependence on Him who can rule the Wind and the Sea to effect his Providential purposes both in Judgment and in Mercy. Which may we Reverence and Adore.

It may be proper to Observe that although no instance of a Similar Storm has occurred in the memory of any man living. Yet we find in Hutchinsons History of Massachusetts that

on the fifteenth of August 1635 a violent Storm occurred, when, it is said the tide rose 20 feet perpendicular, the Indian natives of our land were obliged to take themselves to the Trees, and yet many were Drowned, the tide of Flood returning before the usual time. And in Govr. Winthrops Journal was a very great Tempest or Hurricane, which about Narragansett raised the tide 14 or 15 feet above the ordinary Spring Tides.

Thus we See What has been may be again. On Measuring the Height of the tide from a well known mark of the highest Tide before known by our oldest people this tide of 1815 appeared to be Seven feet and five inches higher than any before known by them.

To be particular in Ascertaining individual Sufferings or the particular cases or circumstances would require a Volume. The committee think that here are Sufficient Facts related to perpetuate the General Idea of the Great Storm they were desirous to communicate.

NOTE BY JOHN HOWLAND.

Had the committee been appointed three years before the date of the resolution, there can be no doubt the object of their appointment would have been fully accomplished, but after the lapse of that time the feelings and the impressions had in a great measure abated. After repeated trials to convene the Committee, the whole number comprising it never got together, the Statement written by the Chairman, was by him handed to me, and no report was ever made to the Town. I have in many cases Seen the folly of a large Committee. If only one had been appointed the business would have been done — My purpose was to have monuments fixed in several places on permanent buildings or otherwise to mark the height of the tide. Mr. Brown's statement has remained in my possession more than 16 years, and I now intend to deliver it to the City Authorities and place the foregoing Copy in the Cabinet of the Historical Society.

JOHN HOWLAND.

January 1, 1835.

NOTE.—Few things in the picture gallery of the Society attract more attention than the representations of the scene at the Great Bridge during the gale above described. The Librarian has not only witnessed manifestations of interest and heard remarks as to what should be done to commemorate that event, but has received letters on the subject, one of which is reproduced as follows:

HISTORICAL TABLETS.

MIDDLEBOROUGH, Mass., Nov. 5, 1894.

GENTLEMEN OF THE R. I. HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

While recently examining your interesting and instructive collection of portraits and pictures, my attention was attracted to the representation of the great gale of 1815, when vessels were driven up Westminster street and the tide rose to a great height on Market square. It seemed to me, as I gazed at this picture, that tablets erected at various points, showing the height to which the water rose on that occasion, and the places where vessels were carried and left on dry land, would prove interesting and instructive to young people, and indeed to one generation after another that will pass through this section of the city. I am the more impressed with the importance of the measure here suggested as I have noticed in Boston, Baltimore and some other cities tablets erected here and there that gave me a clear idea of some striking historical event. For example, at Griffin's wharf in Boston is a tablet that refers to the time and place of the famous Boston Tea Party. Another tablet shows where the fire of 1872 was stopped. In Cambridge is a tablet showing the site and date of the first school-house ever erected in that place. It seems fitting that one of the most remarkable events that ever occurred in Providence should be suitably commemorated.

Yours respectfully,

ELISHA T. JENKS.

The writer of the letter above expresses the object which Mr. Howland had in view when he said: "My purpose was to

have monuments fixed in several places on permanent buildings." Mr. Brown says "a sloop of about 60 tons floated across Weybosset street and was lodged in Pleasant street" (now Eddy street). The great ship Ganges was wrecked against the Washington building, and the widow of its commander, Capt. Joseph Herlitz, left here, a few years ago, his watch as a memorial. Half a century ago the hulk of a vessel of a large size was at the north end of the cove basin. One tablet only now indicates the height to which the water rose, and that is not on a permanent building. It seems reasonable that as visible traces of the great storm are obliterated, records of it should be placed, as suggested by Mr. Howland, on permanent buildings, where they can be read by all who pass by. Another suggestion about "the folly of a large committee" is worthy of attention. [Ed.]

THE KEY :—

Fact versus Theory.

Mr. Wm. D. Ely, in his last dissertation on the subject of Roger Williams' Key, Beanes vs. Barnes, has misconstrued as far as possible, nearly every paragraph in my "Roger Williams' Vindicated, or an Answer to a 'Keyhole for Roger Williams' Key.'" Like all similar methods of procedure, they create in the minds of many an erroneous impression, which, as in similar cases, can be quickly dispelled in a very few words.

The reasons for my defence of Roger Williams were correctly expressed in the "Vindication," therefore it is unnecessary to repeat them here. The result has been, to prove to the satisfaction of almost all — if not all — of those *disinterested*, that Roger Williams made no mistake in giving "barnes" as the English equivalent of the Narragansett *auqúnnash*, in the 16th chapter of his "Key." As I have pre-

viously set forth (see Roger Williams Vindicated, Prov., R. I. Hist. Soc., Vol. II., p. 61), the use of this word was the main theme of Mr. Ely's "Keyhole," and was the main question open for discussion, all the others being simply subordinate thereto. Consequently I do not propose to answer all the points in his last essay; but there are some assumptive deductions given therein, which deserve my personal notice and consideration.

These are as follows: First. Mr. Ely asserts that Dr. Trumbull contradicts me in two very material points, when in fact the contrary is the case. For instance, Dr. Trumbull translates the word *Tuppuhquamash* as "twiners." I go into the word a little deeper than he does, and from its seeming radicals, for it is a compound word, translate it as "that which twines or clings high" (Ibid., p. 64) — which surely does not show a contradiction, but simply a distinction without a difference. But Mr. Ely misses the main point I made, in connection with this word, that it describes the plant itself, and not the bean or fruit, therefore the name has no bearing on the subject at issue.

Second. Mr. Ely remarks: "In another paragraph Mr. Tooker takes up the verb *auquan*, *au-qun*, and gives his method of evolving *Au-qun-nash* therefrom. * * * But to reach those primal sources, 'which clear away all uncertainty,' we may take the word, *Au-ha-qut*, mantle, which Mr. Tooker represents as derived, as well as other words, from *au-quan*, *au-qun*. Here we can again contrast the views of Mr. Tooker and Dr. Trumbull; and we find the latter speaking with the same positiveness as in the previous case. * * Dr. Trumbull ignores Mr. Tooker's *au-quan* and *au-qun*, as its root and primal; and on the contrary says it is derived from *hog-kō*, or *hog-ki*, to cover; and further, that '*hock*' (*hog-ki*, *hack-ee*) is the generic affix for 'a shell.'" Dr. Trumbull is correct, but Mr. Ely's lack of knowledge of the Algonquian language leads him astray. *Hogkō* and *auqún* are both variants of the Algonquian verb "to cover," and Dr. Trumbull's note 265 (Narr. Club ed., R. W.'s Key, p. 144), to which Mr. Ely refers in a foot note, agrees with me, and absolutely contradicts Mr. Ely's assumption as follows: "*Hogkō*, it clothes

or covers; (passive) he is clothed; suppos., *ágquit*, when he is covered; *ne agquit*, that which covers or clothes (El.comp. *ocquash*, 'put on,' and *aúhaqut* mantle." The variation in form, and in connotation, of this Algonquian radical is wonderful and far reaching. For instance in chapter 6, "Of the Family and Businesse of the House" (Narr. Club ed., R. W.'s Key, p. 64), we find *aúquiegs*, housholdstuffe,=mats or covering things, also *aûqunnish*, "let goe," (p. 67). The latter word has the terminal of the second person singular in *-ish*, and means literally "cover ye"; hence by metonymy to "let goe"; that is, to drop the mat, which hangs over the entrance of the wigwam (see "Obs." at top of page 67), "which being lift up, falls downe of itselfe," and covers the door. There is no necessity to multiply these facts any further. They exist and can be drawn upon to a much greater extent, and are an interesting study.

The question which Mr. Ely desires answered, "Why beans are omitted from the chapter 'On the Earth and Fruits Thereof?'" is really not material. We might ask the same, of a hundred simple things omitted entirely. But Roger Williams, as I have before remarked, has given it in the second chapter "Of Eating and Entertainment." Its variants in kindred dialects show that it was the common name of the bean fruit. The same fact applies to Roger Williams' *Opponeaũhock* (=he is roasted or baked whole, i. e., in the shell, clothed or covered), the common name for "oysters."

In conclusion, Mr. Ely's "Keyhole" and my "Roger Williams Vindicated" were both submitted to Dr. Daniel G. Brinton of Philadelphia for his opinion. With the kind permission of Dr. Amos Perry, Secretary of this Society, and Dr. Brinton himself, I am able to present his letter in full as follows:

PHILADELPHIA, April 12th, 1894.

Mr. AMOS PERRY, Sec'y:

DEAR SIR:—I have been able to give attention to the question of Roger Williams' "Key" sooner than I anticipated and forward you my results. The discussion between Mr. Ely and Mr. Tooker turns on the real meaning of the word—*auqúnnash*. Did it mean "barns" or "beans"?

There is no question but that Mr. Tooker is right in assigning it the former meaning, and is correct in tracing it to the verb signifying "to cover." This verb is very much the same in all Algonquian dialects; as in Cree *awanâ* (Lacomb, Dictionaire de la langue Crise): Otchipwe *agwana* (Baraga's Dictionary). But the conclusive evidence is furnished by the Dictionary of the Abnaki composed by Father Rasle, in which we find the very word given by Roger Williams and with the same meaning:—"*une cache dan la terre, agoné.*" (In his alphabet the *g* = our *w* in with, but more forcibly.) This reference places the meaning and derivation beyond doubt.

Yrs truly,

D. G. BRINTON.

There is nothing more to be said, and this ends the discussion so far as I am concerned.

WM. WALLACE TOOKER.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—When Mr. Ely's first paper appeared in print, a copy of it was sent to Mr. Horatio Hale, who has the reputation of being well acquainted with various aboriginal languages of our country. Mr. Hale made a grateful acknowledgment of the paper, and complimented Mr. Ely's learning and scholarship. When Mr. Tooker's paper appeared in print a copy of it was sent to Mr. Hale with the request that he should act as umpire in deciding the question at issue. Mr. Hale declined to act in that capacity, but recommended that the case be referred to Dr. D. G. Brinton of Philadelphia, whom he regarded as the most competent man of his acquaintance. To Dr. Brinton the case was accordingly referred. Dr. Brinton first replied as follows:

2041 CHESTNUT STREET, PHILADELPHIA, April 11, '94.

Mr. AMOS PERRY, Sec'y:

DEAR SIR:—Your favor of 8th, with the two pamphlets, duly rec'd. I shall give the questions involved a careful study, and report at an early date — certainly before the close of the month. Truly,

D. G. BRINTON.

His answer then came as given by Mr. Tooker above. Mr. Ely's second paper, and also Mr. Tooker's second paper, were submitted to Dr. Brinton with the request that he should give a final word. His reply is thus:

MEDIA, Pa., Oct. 19, '94.

DEAR SIR:—Thanks for copy of Quarterly.

Inasmuch as Father Rasle gives the identical word as Roger Williams, with substantially the same meaning as in the "Key," I do not see what further is to be said. Mr. E.'s side-issues are not to the point.

Truly yours,

D. G. BRINTON.

THE SUSQUEHANNA PURCHASE.

In 1753 about 600 inhabitants of the colony of Connecticut associated themselves under the name of "The Susquehanna Company" for the purpose of planting a new colony within what they supposed to be the charter bounds of that colony west of the Delaware River. They bought out the Indian rights along the Susquehanna River in July, 1754, at which time among 694 grantees in the deed 33 were from Rhode Island. Their purpose was to obtain a charter from the King, but the monarch never acted favorably on their application. Surveyors were sent out in 1755, and a settlement was made on the Delaware in 1757, but the French and Indian War prevented further action till 1762. In July of that year many of the Susquehanna Company took possession and cleared ground near Wilkes-barre. This settlement was exterminated by Indians in October, 1763. In January, 1769, certain lessees of the Penns, who also claimed this territory by charter rights and Indian deeds, occupied the lands near

Wyoming. Hither, one month later, came an advance guard of forty settlers from Connecticut. In April came 200 more. Among these immigrants were "some excellent Quakers from Rhode Island." By the end of the year all had been driven out by the Pennsylvanians; but they rallied and secured possession of their homes in the Spring of 1770. The settlement now increased steadily and a township, and later a county, of Connecticut was erected there with the name of Westmoreland. It had 3,000 inhabitants in 1775, and three companies of troops were raised there as a part of the Twenty-fourth Regiment of the Connecticut line in the Revolutionary War. In July, 1778, came the massacre at Wyoming. The controversy about the lands went on, and was made a matter of discussion by the Continental Congress, so far as the jurisdiction of the two States was concerned. In 1782 Commissioners rendered a decision adverse to Connecticut. By this time the Yankee settlers numbered 6,000 and were scattered through seventeen townships. In resisting the attempts of Pennsylvanians to seize their lands during 1783 and 1784, they shed some blood, and instituted legal contests which went on for many subsequent years. Finally, by the Compromise Act of the Pennsylvania Legislature, April 4, 1799, the conflicting claims were all adjusted and the controversy was happily ended. The most compact account of the whole contention that I have seen is a pamphlet of 145 pages by Henry M. Hoyt, entitled "Brief of a title in the Seventeen Townships in the County of Luzerne: a Syllabus of the controversy between Connecticut and Pennsylvania. Harrisburg, 1879.

R. G. H.

NEGLECT AND DESECRATION OF THE GRAVE AND GRAVE-STONE OF GOVERNOR BENEDICT ARNOLD.

[*The following letter, written by a member of this Society, who represents one of the historical families of the State, is commended to the attention of members of the Society of Colonial Dames and of other patriotic Societies of the State.—Ed.*]

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 12, 1894.

TO THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

Visiting Newport a week ago to-day, I inquired after the grave-stone of one of my ancestors, Governor Benedict Arnold. I was told where the grave-stone was, but could not find it without the assistance of the custodian of the Newport Historical Society, Mr. R. H. Tilley and another citizen of the place. When found, the slab was covered with at least four inches of earth, presumably with the purpose of getting quiet possession of that consecrated spot. In Gov. Arnold's Will, made Dec. 20th, 1677, is the following clause: "My body I desire and appoint to be buried at the north-east corner of a Parcel of ground containing three Rod square, being and lying in my land in or near ye line or path from my dwelling house, leading to my Stone built Wind Mill, in ye town of Newport above mentioned." "And I desire that my dear and loving wife Damaris Arnold, after her decease, may be buried near unto me on ye south side of ye place aforesaid ordered for my own interment."

This piece of land thus referred to passed into the hands of the late Gov. Van Zandt and is now in the possession of another citizen of Newport who is presumed to be responsible for burying the grave-stone containing the inscription handed down for more than two centuries. Beneath that grave-stone

are or were the mortal remains of Gov. Arnold, which I was told had been once dug up and then tumbled back, where they are now claimed to be the property of a private citizen. I was pained and chagrined at the discovery of the facts which are here reported in the hope of causing some appropriate action to be taken for the honor of my native State.

JAMES F. NOYES, M. D.

A GENEALOGICAL "FIND."

Last August, while visiting the beautiful Wilcox Memorial Building in Westerly, I was kindly shown some bundles of historical papers that had come into the possession of the newly formed Pawcatuck Valley Historical Society. Several of these had a personal interest for me, but one of them was so useful in settling a doubtful point in genealogy that I here record it, in the hope that other searchers into family history may find it of value. It was a small scrap of time-stained paper, without date or signature, bearing these words:

"Cornell hung, killed mother with spindle. his daughter Innocent m. a Borden. his d. m. Robert uncle of Thos. B. Hazard. his d. Sarah m. Stephen Champlin father of Smooth Stephen, Jeffrey, Thomas, and dau. who married Sam Congdon and was father of George Congdon. Smooth Stephen m. a Perry."

For some years I had been searching for the parentage of Innocent, the wife of Richard[3] (John[2], Richard[1]) Borden of Portsmouth. The husband was born Oct. 24, 1671, and died July 12, 1732. If this fragment told the truth, the mystery was solved. With eagerness I began to trace the scrap of paper back to its author. Inquiry of the Librarian at the Wilcox Memorial elicited the information that the paper was one of several contributed by Hon. Richard Wheeler, of Ston-

ington. Further inquiry of that gentleman brought word that he had found the fragment among some papers that had belonged to the late Hon. Elisha R. Potter of Kingston. This was as far as I could go, but it was enough to satisfy me of the probable truth of the statements the paper contained. I conjecture that it was a memorandum jotted down at the request of Judge Potter by some one whose memory had been jogged by a curious question from this patient investigator.

Next I set about finding any possible confirmation of the statement. Among my own records I found at once that Sarah Borden, the oldest daughter of Richard and Innocent, born July 31, 1694, married —— Hazard, of Newport. This was something to the point, confirming the third statement of the fragment, and explaining the reason for the first name of the daughter Sarah mentioned in the fourth statement. Further investigation in Austin's Genealogical Dictionary showed that Thomas[2] (Thomas[1]) Cornell, who was executed May 23, 1673, had a daughter Innocent, and also that Richard Borden's mother, Mary[3] Earle (William[2], Ralph[1]), was first cousin of Innocent Cornell, as the latter's mother was Sarah[2] Earle (Ralph[1]). A further search among those interested in Cornell genealogy made clear the fact that no other marriage has ever been ascribed to this Innocent. One correspondent, in declaring his assent to the identification of Innocent Cornell with Innocent Borden, ventured the interesting conjecture that Innocent, whose birth must have been near 1673, may have been a posthumous child, and that her name may have been her mother's indignant protest at the cruel judicial murder of the father of the babe. Certainly no man would in these days be executed on such evidence as the records contain in this case.

The incident is only one of many evidences of the value of local historical collections. Little by little they attract to each other the old documents which to the owner are of little account, but to one who can interpret them and fit them into place, are of untold value. I should be glad to know of such centres of collection in every Rhode Island town.

RAY GREENE HULING.

Cambridge, Mass.

THE JOHN CARTER FAMILY.

Acknowledgments are due to Mr. Charles Danforth for the following communications, together with the journal of a voyage to Canton and back on the ship Ann and Hope in 1799 and 1800. The writer of the letter, who also kept the journal, and the person to whom the letter was written, were brother and sister of the first wife of the late Nicholas Brown. Also, the writer of the letter, Benjamin Bowen Carter, was graduated at Rhode Island College in 1786, was elected an honorary member of this Society in 1823 and died in 1831. [Ed.]

Family Record.

The following is copied from a M. S. given me by David Jones of Philadelphia, in August 1819. He transcribed it, at my request, from the family Bible of his mother. It had been previously transcribed into this Family Bible, by the Revd William Rogers D. D. from a manuscript, preserved in an old Family Bible.

John Carter died April — 1745.

Elizabeth Carter died February 20th 1760, in the 47th year of her age. She was born in England. Her maiden name was Spragg or Sprague.

An account of their children is, as follows:

Mary Carter was born August 21st 1733.—died May 22d 1784.

James Carter was born February 2d 1735-6.—died October 29th 1784.

Elizabeth Carter was born October 3d 1738.—died March 25th 1801.

Rebecca Carter was born September 7th 1741.—died October 15th 1793.

Ann Carter was born September 4th 1743.—died March 1st 1768.

John Carter was born July 21st 1745.—died in Providence—

— — — Folwell married Elizabeth Carter.

Account of their children.

John Folwell—died August 28th 1809.

Samuel Folwell—died November—1813.

Richard Folwell—died May 12th 1814.

Rebecca Folwell

David Jones was born December 10th 1740.—died January 18th 1785.

Rebecca Carter was born Sept. 7th 1741.—died Oct. 15th 1793.

The above David Jones & Rebecca Carter were joined together, in the holy bonds of matrimony, Oct. 27th 1785, by the Revd Mr Sturgeon, at Philadelphia.

An account of their children is, as follows.

Sarah Jones was born Sept. 25th 1766.—died March 7th 1769.

John Jones was born Feb. 18th 1768.—died August 26th 1770.

Daniel Jones was born March 8th 1770—died August 18th 1773.

Elizabeth Jones was born Sept. 13th 1772.—died Nov. 3d 1785.

David Jones was born Nov. 22d 1774.

Rebecca Jones was born Nov. 19th 1777.

Margaret Jones was born Dec. 15th 1780.

Catharine Jones was born May 3d 1783.—died April 29th 1787.

Observations on the above, by B. B. C.—John Carter, the head of the Family, was born in Ireland, and emigrated to America. He sailed from Philadelphia, as Lieutenant of an armed vessel, and was killed in April—1745, in an engagement with a French vessel; a ball having passed through his breast. This was told me by his daughters, Elizabeth & Rebecca, in 1791 & 92. John Carter left a widow, at Philadelphia, with five children. His youngest child John was a

posthumous son, having been born the July following, three months after the death of his Father.— John Carter's age, at the time of his death is not stated; but if we suppose his age to have been nearly the same with that of his wife, as she died in 1760, in her 47th year, his age in 1745, when the action took place, that is fifteen years before, must have been about thirty-two years.

Elizabeth, wife of John Carter was the daughter of John Spragg or Sprague, who emigrated from England, at an early period and settled on Long Island. John Spragg was the proprietor of a considerable landed estate on Long Island, which is now lost to the family.

Elizabeth, daughter of the above John Carter married —— Folwell, by whom she had a numerous family. Three sons and one daughter lived to grow up. Samuel was an eminent painter, and studied under Sir Benj. West of London. Richard went to Providence, about the year 1781, to learn the Printing business of his uncle; he quit Providence about the year 1785. John was a printer. Rebecca is still living at Philadelphia.— Mrs. Folwell afterwards married Col. Robert Roberts of Philadelphia.

Rebecca, daughter of the above John Carter married David Jones. They had eight children, three of whom lived to grow up, viz. David Jones who married — — — — He has a son Theodore Jones, now about 19 years of age & other children. His wife is dead. — Rebecca Jones married —— Ferguson. She has several children. Mr Ferguson is dead, and his widow now lives at No 18 Elfreth's alley, Second street. Margaret Jones is unmarried.

NEW YORK, April 1st 1820.

Miss HULDAH M. CARTER,

DEAR SISTER, Many years ago, when I was a student at the university of Philadelphia, our departed sister Mrs Brown wrote me, and requested me to procure some information, respecting our relations in Philadelphia. By frequent conversations with our aunts, Mrs Roberts & Mrs Jones, I collected some family traditions, which I related to our sister Brown,

on my return.— When I was in Philadelphia, last august, I requested our cousin David Jones to copy from his mother's bible, the family record, which he willingly did. Thinking you might have a curiosity to inspect it, I have transcribed it for your perusal. Our relations in Philadelphia are poor, but honest and industrious.— David Jones told me, that he had been a patient in the hospital, during four years, for some mental derangement. He has now perfectly recovered his reason and health of body; but lives very retired. In the hospital, he was a room mate of the late Judge Jabez Bowen, whom he described as an outrageous madman at times, with frequent intervals of perfect reason.

Yours of Jan 17th inclosing Mr Putnam's letter and Edward K. Thompson's receipt came duly to hand. In a letter which I wrote to our nephew, N. Brown Jun. soon after the receipt of yours, I desired him to return you my thanks for your attention to this business, which in case he should have forgotten, I beg leave to repeat. I wrote to Benj. P. Putnam, that the last year's taxes had been paid, at the Providence bank, according to his order, and suppose he has received my letter; but I have not heard from him since. The Ohio share having been long in the family, I wish to pay the taxes punctually, in order to preserve it unbroken and unmortgaged. One lot of 100 acres extends nearly two miles on the river Ohio: it must of course be narrow. If a town should be built at or near this place, (as new towns are laid out frequently on the river side,) such a length of wharves might be in time very valuable to some of the family, though if now sold, it must be sacrificed and would produce but little. Nahum Ward of Marietta wrote me some time since, that he wished to bup the 8 acre lot, and would give 250 dolls. for it; though it was not worth that, (as he said.) In reply I told him, that I had made up my mind not to sell. I sometimes wish myself on the banks of the belle riviere, as the French call the Ohio, and regret that James had not gone there from New Orleans, as I advised him when he sailed from London.

After a hard winter, I congratulate you on the return of spring. The weather has been uncommonly fine of late, which has given an opportunity to the beaus and belles to

promenade Broadway, and to make a most brilliant display of taste and fashion, in their costume and equipages. Broadway may be considered as the Bond-st of N. York; but the Bond-st of London is a mere alley, compared with the Broadway of this city.

I have nothing new. I regret the numerous disasters, which have occurred of late on our coast, by shipwreck, as well as the death of Decatur. The deaths of Geo. III, the dukes of Kent and Berri will not, I think, produce any explosion in Europe, though they have more than enough of combustible materials, in France and England.—— Produce here is low, and all complain that business is dull.— Mr Judah Hayes frequently invites me to call and see him: he enquires in a friendly manner, after the family.— I am, dear sister, your affectionate brother,

BENJ. B. CARTER,
to whom please to write soon.

GENEALOGICAL NOTES AND QUERIES.

Some extinct Rhode Island surnames, with name of the last known male representative:

Daniel Abbott, of Providence, d. 1760, Nov. 7 (3d of the name).

William Baulstone, of Portsmouth, d. 1678, Mar. 14.

Gabriel Bernon, of Providence, d. 1736, Feb. 1.

Edmund Calverly, of Warwick, d. 1687+

John Clarke, of Newport, d. 1676, Apr. 20.

William Jefferay, of Newport, d. 1675, Jan. 2 (son Thomas alive in 1674).

Edward Pelham, of Newport, d. 1741 (nephew John alive in 1720).

Nicholas Power, of Providence, d. 1844, Apr. 28 (6th of the name).

Benjamin Smiton, of Bristol, d. 1728+

Christopher Unthank, of Warwick, d. 1680+

William Wickenden, of Providence, d. 1670, Feb. 23.

English ancestry of Rhode Island settlers. Of nearly five hundred families who settled in Rhode Island before 1690, only about ten per cent. have been traced to their English homes.

A gentleman, born in Rhode Island in 1846, states that his *father* served during part of the Revolutionary War. Can any other man in the United States, only forty-eight years of age, fairly state as much in regard to *his* father?

J. O. A.

QUERY. Who were the parents and grandparents of Dorcas Smith who married 1777, March 30, Stephen Olney, of Revolutionary fame?

Who was Desire Kent's grandmother?

In the October number of New England Historic and Genealogical Register allusion is made to this inscription on a gravestone: "Mrs. Desire Kent, widow of Samuel Kent, of Barrington, was the first English woman's grand-daughter on New England. Died Feb 8, 1762, aged about 94 years." An explanatory note follows wherein it is stated that she was grand-daughter of Mary Chilton, who married John Winslow, and whose daughter married Edward Gray. Now the Desire Gray alluded to was born in 1651 not 1668, died in 1690 not 1762 and was married Jan'y 10, 1672, to Nathaniel *Southworth*, not to Samuel Kent.

Hence the query arises who *was* Desire Kent's grandmother?

J. O. A.

Preserved Brayton[3], son of Stephen[2] (Francis[1]) and Ann (Tallman) was born March 8, 1685. Died May 21, 1761. He married Content ——. It has been claimed that Content's maiden name was Gardner, but proof is lacking. Can any one furnish information respecting her? The date of the marriage is also desired.

Warren. V. B.

ANSWER TO QUERIES.

Query (A) Jackson.

I do not know of any complete account of this family, but papers of interest concerning some branches, were left by the Hon. Richard Jackson, Jr., and the Rev. Dr. Henry Jackson, which are now in the possession of Mr. Richard Jackson Barker, of Warren, R. I.

Oct. 23, 1894. E. H. L. B.

BRIEF SKETCHES, NOTES AND CULLINGS.

THE PUBLICATION.

In 1872 the first number of the "Proceedings of the Society" was issued. It was prepared and brought out by a member of the Society who was then its Secretary, — a member (Mr. George T. Paine), who had made a success of publishing on his individual responsibility the six great volumes that constitute the exceedingly valuable Narragansett Club publications. The importance of that pamphlet of 38 pages was readily seen, and for twenty-one successive years the publication entitled, "Proceedings of the Society," was statedly issued. That publication was an important means of sustaining and promoting the life of the Society, and finally led to a demand for a larger work.

Another movement of the same general character was made at the annual meeting in 1893, when, on motion of Mr. John O. Austin, a resolution was adopoted that had for its object the conversion of the annual publication into a quarterly. At the ensuing April business meeting the proposed measure was endorsed by the Society. In the course of the year 1893, the four numbers that constitute Volume I., were ssued substantially in accordance with the programme

marked out. That volume contained nearly 300 pages. Its cost exceeded the estimate, and the subscriptions fell short of the estimate. Thus the treasury was heavily drawn upon, and the committee recommended that the quarterly be suspended unless the required amount was raised within a given time. By a special appeal and generous contributions by a few persons, a considerable sum was raised and it was decided to try the experiment another year. The present issue (number 4 of Vol. II., whole number eight) completes volume II., and is therefore a fit occasion for members to look over this field of labor and consider what ought to be done.

It has been found expedient, as stated in the last issue, to insist on brief articles with the view of introducing more variety in the subjects discussed, and it was also decided to invite practical workers in the historical field of the State to occupy space in these columns and discuss questions of interest. The effect of this change has been to enlist more patrons, secure more readers and awaken more interest in the objects of the Society. Still, in a financial point of view, the publication of the quarterly is not a success. By this we mean merely that the cash paid was more than the cash received. The same remark might be made of the annual publication during each year of its issue. The Society acted according to the scriptural rule: "Cast thy bread upon the waters and thou shalt find it after many days." The experiment entered upon is not likely to prove a failure in the proper sense of that term. The quarterly has attracted attention and won favor for the Society and for the objects for which the Society was founded. The publication is, then, in a moral point of view, a success. It is a means of influence and a medium of communication that should be sustained.

A pertinent inquiry is whether it cannot be improved and thus made to accomplish more good; if not at less expense, at least, with reasonable assurance of a satisfactory return for the expense incurred. To this end there is need of deliberation. The business must be conducted on business principles. There must be tact, skill and enterprise and plans laid to secure the desired results. Suggestions are solicited. One member of the Society has expressed his views as fol-

lows. It will cost comparatively little more to print 1000 copies of the quarterly than the present number—700. With this change, each active and life member can be supplied with a copy, and thus, it is presumed, made more interested in the Society and its objects, and more ready to exert influence to secure subscriptions for its publication and applications for membership.

The idea has somehow got afloat that the Society publishes for gratuitous circulation. Copies of the quarterly are often solicited without compensation. This idea should be checked.

Other suggestions relate to editorial management, the make-up and size of the publication and the times of its issue. Irregularities are pronounced unfavorable to the success of the enterprise. The resolution adopted at the last July quarterly meeting calls for information about the Society. In response to that call

A CATALOGUE OF THE PORTRAITS IN THE PICTURE GALLERY

was compiled in season for insertion in this number of the quarterly, but is kept out by the pressure of other matter.

THE DIARY OF DR. McSPARRAN,

which, though used by Mr. Updike in writing the history of the Narragansett Church, is deemed worthy of being printed in full, will appear by-and-by in these columns, duly annotated. Another paper of much interest, prepared by Mr. Henry C. Dorr, is entitled,

"THE CONTROVERSY BETWEEN THE PROPRIETORS AND THE FREEHOLDERS OF PROVIDENCE."

This, too, will be printed, as soon as space can be spared for it. Among the papers which members desire to see in print is one by the Hon. John H. Stiness, entitled,

"A CENTURY OF LOTTERIES IN RHODE ISLAND."

Another is by the Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, entitled,

"REMARKABLE PROVIDENCES IN CRISES OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR."

Members will, it is hoped, aid in promoting, as they have opportunity, the success of the publication enterprise, by calling attention to such other papers as are worthy of being printed, and by suggestions on a variety of subjects that deserve consideration.

WHERE ARE THEY?

The Military Rolls of Rhode Island during the Revolutionary War — where are they? This inquiry is often put. Long journeys have been made to get the information which these records contain. Some persons go to the office of our Adjutant-General; some to the office of the Secretary of State, and very many come to the historical cabinet, expecting there to be shown the precious original documents.

In each case the reply is very unsatisfactory. The Adjutant-General can make a good show of the Military Records of our Civil War. He has done credit to himself and to his State by collecting, arranging and publishing those records. But he can do next to nothing to satisfy numerous applicants for information as to the Revolution. The Secretary of State is the custodian of some of the records that are wanted and he is getting more whenever he can. He has, however, pressing duties that prevent his furnishing inquirers with the information they seek. He is ready enough, therefore, to send them with his compliments to the Librarian of this Society, and so it comes about that this latter person is occasionally pretty seriously plied with the question — Where are they?

New Hampshire Revolutionary Rolls, printed several years ago by that State, are contained in four of its eighteen volumes of State Papers, where they are readily found and con-

sulted. Connecticut has performed a task of the same general character in a very satisfactory manner, having brought out an imperial 8vo volume entitled: "Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the, I., War of the Revolution; II., War of 1812; III., Mexican War." Massachusetts is engaged in a similar line of labor. Most of the old States are moving for the accomplishment of this work except Rhode Island. Here inquiries cannot be satisfactorily answered at present.

One reply that is sometimes heard is substantially as follows: — The official rolls so much sought were sent to Washington by the State before 1812 with the view of establishing its claims and obtaining from the National Government compensation for services rendered in the War for Independence, and being in Washington when that city was burnt in 1812 by the British, these records were destroyed together with other valuable property. This reply is given just as it has been heard. If any person is prepared to refute it or to confirm it he will confer a favor by addressing a note to the editor of this quarterly.

Another reply is to the effect that while Rhode Island took a very active and creditable part in the War for Independence, as in previous colonial wars, there was always a lack of care in making and in preserving records of what was done. According to this theory the military records of our colonial and revolutionary periods were, at best, very defective, and being but little prized or cared for, were readily scattered and lost. Some of these records are in our State House; some in our historical cabinet; some in our City Hall; some in Massachusetts State House; some in New York State House; some in the War Department at Washington; some in the office of the Secretary of State at Washington; and some in private hands. We know that some other highly prized official documents are in private hands and are regarded by those who hold them as stock in trade.

In conclusion, any person who is prepared to refute or to confirm the above explanation, to give a more satisfactory reply to the inquiry, or to otherwise aid inquirers in their researches, is invited to avail himself of space in the columns of this quarterly for that purpose.

WHAT MUST BE DONE?

It is not enough to repeat the old refrain. The pertinent inquiry now is, taking things as they are, what must be done? We know enough about our revolutionary and colonial records not only to justify action in their behalf, but to make neglect of an organized movement for collecting, arranging and utilizing them for historical purposes inexcusable. True, it will cost money, and the State has no right to enter upon any enterprise without counting the cost and guarding against imposition. It must take held of no "put up job." It must, however, move right here. It cannot dodge its responsibility as the guardian and protector of records that interest many of its citizens and affect its reputation and standing as a State. It cannot afford to be inactive. It is bound to do what it can to rescue from destruction what remain of records that pertain to its revolutionary and colonial history, and to show what part its citizens took in the War of 1812 and in the Mexican war, and the State is sure to have the cordial coöperation and support of all its loyal citizens in its efforts to this end.

This Society is doing what it can to aid in this work. It is drawing from the Department of State at Washington and printing certain papers that not only interest individuals and families, but shed light on the history of the State. With its limited resources, it will require considerable time to collect, arrange and index its various authentic records of the revolutionary and colonial periods, such as regimental and company rolls, diaries kept by officers, orderly books, quartermasters' accounts, and four bound volumes of military papers.

It is pleasant to report, in this connection, that the services of an experienced indexer have been secured and will be continued as long as the financial condition of the Society will justify the expenditure. It is not easy to over estimate the value of such an index as is just begun. The four volumes of Military Papers will, when indexed, be much consulted, whereas now they are rarely looked at. The nine volumes of newly arranged manuscripts that have been recently put upon our shelves will acquire, when indexed, an importance

of which few persons have any adequate conception. The value of the Society's twenty-one annual "Proceedings," and of its first four volumes of "Collections," would be greatly enhanced by an index.

If this branch of our clerical force can be sustained, as it ought to be, a marked improvement in the usefulness of our historical manuscripts, and of some of our printed documents, will be effected, and a step will be taken towards the accomplishment of a work of much interest and importance, namely, putting in order, as well as collecting, records that give some idea of what was accomplished by citizens of Rhode Island, at a very critical period, to establish the nation to which they belong, — a work devolving primarily on the State and which cannot be accomplished without its direct agency.

A PUBLICATION FUND.

Half a century ago, more or less, the leading historical societies of this country were engaged in raising publication funds. New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, and several other like institutions, moved forward in this line of action, and are now enjoying and diffusing the benefits of their wise foresight and their well-directed efforts. This Society so far fell into line as to get up a subscription paper to raise a publication fund of twenty-five thousand dollars. Five thousand dollars were subscribed on that paper, but not a dollar of it was paid into the treasury, on account of a conditional clause requiring the whole sum to be subscribed in order to secure any part of it. It is hoped that in raising the sorely needed publication and working fund, the subscription paper will contain no such conditional clause as that referred to. Some of the above-named societies have publication funds that have the distinctive names of the givers, and the publications thus brought out are accredited to the so-named funds. The Connecticut Historical Society has recently been equipped for service by public-spirited citizens of Hartford, and it is hoped that the Rhode Island Society will not long be left without such a fund as will enable it to move abreast

with its worthy sister-institutions, and efficiently aid in extending a knowledge of Rhode Island history among its citizens and throughout the country. The Society's committee that has charge of invested funds, consists of Robert H. I. Goddard, Charles H. Smith, and Richmond P. Everett.

The importance of the measure to which attention is here invited is not readily overestimated. The Society has now, according to the last report of the treasurer, a publication fund of $3,000. This was given $1,000 at a time, by three of its late members (William Gammell, Ira B. Peck, and Albert J. Jones), whose names will be repeated in each annual report of the treasurer through all time. Additions to this fund are earnestly solicited. Indeed, they must be forthcoming to enable the Society to carry forward work upon which it has entered. Rather than settle back into a state of comparative inactivity, it had better move forward and rely, like a neighboring institution, on a guaranty fund raised by its friends. The best course, however, is that pursued by the societies named above, whose wise foresight and generous provision for usefulness command respect and are amply rewarded.

The Society has a distinctive mission that concerns the well-being of the State. To worthily fulfill that mission, it must have what are familiarly termed the "*sinews of war*,"—money to enable it to sustain and enlarge its publications, and make its valuable collections available and extensively useful.

THE INDEX OF PERSONS.

Appended to this issue of the quarterly is a feature in the publication that can hardly fail to be appreciated. This is, however, but the beginning of improvements that are called for. If this quarterly is kept up and enlarged, as it ought to be, it must soon have, also, an index of subjects and an index of places. The main question is as to whether there is enough of interest, intelligence and enterprise to get up and sustain a periodical that is abreast with the times.

REV. OLIVER DYER

Has read before the Society, during the year 1894, three very interesting and instructive papers, which were gratefully acknowledged at the time. These papers are worthy of being repeated in the largest audience-rooms in our city and State. The Society solicits from him two more papers, one on Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry, the hero of Lake Erie, and the other on the great anti-slavery campaign, with sketches of some of its distinguished leaders.

RHODE ISLAND INSTITUTE OF INSTRUCTION.

Its 50th anniversary was celebrated on the 25th, 26th and 27th days of October last. Among the invited guests at a numerously attended banquet held at the Trocadero on that occasion was the Hon. Henry Barnard, LL. D., whose instrumentality in getting up the present system of public instruction in the State is gratefully recognized, and whose portrait adorns the walls of the picture gallery of this Society.

COMMODORE ABRAHAM WHIPPLE,

The leader of the party that destroyed the Gaspee and made its commander a prisoner, was born within the limits of the present town of Lincoln, R. I. This statement is made on the authority of one of our most careful and reliable investigators, Mr. Albert Holbrock. The question is here submitted whether a suitable tablet ought not to be erected on the site of this hero's birthplace while the presence and testimony of Mr. Holbrock are available. A full size portrait of Commodore Whipple, taken while he was in the vigor of manhood, belongs to his great-granddaughter, who resides in Middleboro, Mass. This lady (Mrs. Agnes C. Tribon), has also colonial and Revolutionary articles, memorials and documents of various kinds, the mere sight of which would repay a visit to that historic town, that was long the scene of the labors of the historian Backus and of the late Prof. J. W. P. Jenks.

Brown University statistics, contributed by the late Rev. Dr. Shaw while he was an active member of this Society.

PROVIDENCE, Decr 6th 1816

Samuel B. Shaw

To Brown University, Dr.

	Dols.	Cts.
To One Quarter's Tuition and Room Rent, 4+1.45 .	5	45
To ditto Use of the Library, ...	0	50
	$ 5	95
	28	70
	34	65

Feb. 16, 1817. Received Payment,

ASA MESSER.

PROVIDENCE, December 28, 1816.

Samuel Brenton Shaw,

To the Treasurer of Brown University, Dr.

For Commons, 13 weeks, — day at 1.89 a week, . .	$24 57
" Steward's Services, ...	2 21
" Sweeping, ...	1 17
" Repairs, ...	75
This bill is according to law.	$28 70

ASA MESSER, *President.*

Received Payment,

JOSEPH CADY, *Steward.*

INDIAN NAMES IN RHODE ISLAND.

A few years ago a committee of the Society on Indian names and places in Rhode Island issued a circular, some of the results of which appear from time to time in letters addressed to the Secretary of that committee. Mr. C. A. Downs, the intelligent Town Clerk of Lebanon, N. H., who received a copy of that circular, has had the good fortune lately to obtain a copy of this Society's edition of R. W.'s Key—a presentation copy from Prof. Romeo Elton to Prof.

James L. Kingsley of Yale College, containing the names of the distinguished essayist, John Foster of Bristol, England, and of Prof. Longfellow of Cambridge, Mass. Mr. Downs turns the Key to account in studying the meaning of some of our local Indian names. The following extract from one of his letters (taken without his consent or knowledge), treats of a word about which there is a difference of opinion among scholars. He discusses the word Natick, which is the name of a village in Rhode Island, and also the name of the place where Eliot established his first Indian church in Massachusetts.

NATICK. — R. W. gives nit-tauke, my land, but he does not seem to use it as the name of a place. The idea embodied in this application of it to a locality was beyond the Indian mind. I agree with Dr. D. G. Brinton in your Jones's pamphlet so far. I do not find in the word the least suggestion of a hill, neither syllable nor letter.

The late Judge Chandler E. Potter, of Manchester, N. H., a good Indian scholar, makes the following note: "Natick means a clearing, or place free from trees, from the Indian words *naa*, *bare*, and *auke* a place, the *t* being euphonic."

Rasle's vocabulary gives: "Nate, *bare*, or *cleared*. Na-t-auke, a *clearing*."

Rev. Edward Ballard, in geographical names on the Coast of Maine, Coast Survey Report, 1868, gives Naddock — written Nuttake, the same derivation, and cites a Penobscot Indian as using the word Nātuah as meaning an intervale.

All this is reasonable — a probable source and meaning of Natick; but knowing the literalness of the Indians in their names, I was not quite satisfied without some evidence that Natick, in whole or part, was a clearing, which no one seems to have undertaken to prove. I began my search in this direction. In an account of the settlement of the place I find this: "In this place *the grass was cut* and timber felled, &c." This shows that there was a *clearing* there; for otherwise there would be no grass. And so far as I am concerned the question is settled — Natick means a clearing. This meaning rests on *etymology* and *facts*. No other does.

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